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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

A large number of typographical and a few errors of fact occur in this volume. The correction of the former is not so very absolutely necessary as the correction of the latter. Additions and correction of important errors are effected below.

1. It is stated on p. 3 that the Kali day 1,449,087 fell in the year S'. 786-7 (A.D. 864-5). This result was obtained by the rough method of dividing the number of the days given as expired after the Kali Yuga began by 365½. It has been found wrong. Dr. Fleet and Mr. Sewell drew my attention to this inaccuracy and they have each kindly supplied me with the correct date corresponding to the day of the Kali Yuga given in the record, which is 'July 8th, A.D. 866, or Kali 3967 expired, 15th Karka.'

2. Supply the word *kō* immediately before *Vikramāḍitya* in I. 1 of the transcript of the Huzur office plate of *Vikramāḍitya Varaguṇa* on p. 18.

3. A. Galletti, Esq., I.C.S., writes to me about the treaty between the Pāliyattu Acheban and the Dutch East India Company thus:—"No. IV is a sort of counterpart given to Paliat Achan of the treaty between the Dutch and Cochin of 22nd March 1663, with amplifications. The treaty itself was printed as long ago as 1726 by Valentijn in Dutch. The Madras Government also have a MSS. volume containing Dutch copies of the treaties with native princes. However, I think the plates are well worthy of publication."

4. In translating the word *gōśāla* occurring in I. 3 of the first of the three inscriptions of *Ādityavarman Sarvāṅganātha*, on page 171, Mr. Sundaram Pillai, Dr. Kielhorn and myself have taken the word in the ordinary sense of a *cow-shed*. None of us suspected that the word had a technical meaning and in this sense it was used here. *Gōśāla* is a literal translation of the Tamil word *Tiruvāyambāḍi*, i.e. *Gōkula*, the name given to *Kṛishṇa*'s temple or the quarter where it is situated. The Malayāḷam work on architecture and kindred subjects called the *Śilparatnam*, (itself a *precis* in verse of a larger Sanskrit treatise of the same name) describes the exact position of the *gōśāla* or *Kṛishṇa*'s temple thus:—*Gōśālayiḷ—Kṛishṇanad—engil āgnau koḷḷam vāḍakkum nirritan viśēshāt*, 'If it is (the shrine) of *Kṛishṇa* in the *Gōśāla*, it might be in the south-east or better even in the north or south or south-west.' In the whole of Malabar country and in ancient Tamil literature, the quarter where the temple of *Kṛishṇa* is situated is known by the name of *Tiruvāyambāḍi*; this latter name, in connection with *Kṛishṇa*'s temple, is found in the inscriptions of Travancore.

5. Correct '1030 A.D.' which occurs in brackets after '*Later Malayāḷam*' on p. 228 into '1730 A.D.'

6. The translation beginning with '*Lines I.15*' the middle of p. 294, should go above '*Kaṇḍiyūr Inscriptions of Kōṭavarman*' in I. 4 on the same page.

T. A. G.

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(1) The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes.

The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* chief; *co.* country; *di.* district or division; *do.* ditto; *dy.* dynasty; *f.* female; *k.* king; *m.* male; *mo.* mountain; *vi.* river; *s. a.* same as; *sur.* surname; *te.* temple; *vi.* village or town; *Vij.* Vijayanagara; *Trav.* Travancore.

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ADDENDA TO VOL. I.

I am indebted to my friend Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B.A., B.L., for the following note :—

"Permit me to call your attention to page 294 of the *Travancore Archaeological Series* where there is a Saṅskṛit Inscription belonging to Kaṇḍiyūr. In your introductory remarks you say that "it records the same fact as in the previous and gives the day as 1511564th after the beginning of the Kali era which is represented by the chronogram "Vishamampunyanamēkam." This when reduced to Kollam Āṇḍu and A.D. comes to $\frac{1511564 \times 4}{1461} = 4813 \frac{638}{1461}$ Kali year; the fraction may be left off and taking the year to be 4138 its equivalent Kollam Āṇḍu will be according to the formula "கொல்லத்தில் 'தாளாங்க'த்தை கூட்டுகில் கலிவத்ஸரம்" (and தாளாங்கம் = 3926) = 4138—3926 = 212 M.E. + 825 = 1037 A.D.

"You say that the Saṅskṛit inscription records the same fact as in the previous. But the immediately previous one is of the 123rd year of the God at Kaṇḍiyūr, equivalent to 946 A.D. and records the gift of certain lands to the Kaṇḍiyūr Temple, while the Saṅskṛit inscription refers to the *abhishēkam* of the God. The Tamil inscription at page 289, however, records the fact of the repair of the temple which commenced on Friday 17th Tulām 392 M.E., and continued to Sunday the 8th of Mēḍam 393, on which date perhaps the *Kumbhābhishēkam* was performed, of which the Saṅskṛit inscription is the record. The 'previous' inscription to which you refer at p. 294 is evidently the one at p. 289 and not the one at p. 292 of the 123rd year of the God at Kaṇḍiyūr which immediately precedes the Saṅskṛit one though its translation comes in only after the Saṅskṛit original and the abstract of its contents. The repair was finished on Sunday the 8th of Mēsha according to the inscription at p. 289 and the *abhishēkam* was performed when the sun was in Mēsha, according to the Saṅskṛit inscription at p. 294. On consulting a local Saṅskṛit scholar as to the meaning of the Saṅskṛit text I was told that the expression "हेमात्मीसौसुमान्यः" has no special significance and that it points to the Kali day of the performance of the *abhishēkam*. Upon this, I set about calculating the Kali day and reducing it to Kollam Āṇḍu and the Christian era. The result is as follows :—"हेमात्मीसौसुमान्यः" = $\frac{1577558 \times 4}{1461}$ = Kali year 4319 and a fraction (leaving aside the latter), it will be equivalent to K. 4319—3926 = 393 Kollam Āṇḍu and this is exactly the date of the repair of the temple mentioned in the Tamil inscription at p. 289. It will be Ko. 393 + 825 = 1218 A.D. If I am right the above mentioned Chronogram "विषमं" etc. does not correctly represent the date of the *abhishēkam*."

On page 290, in the text I was not able to find out the exact reading of the word beginning with *sarvad*. From the extract given below it will be quite clear that the word is *sarvādityam* = Sans. सर्वादिष्य.

சர்வாதித்யம் = பெருவுருந்து, "சர்வாதித்யம் பண்ணினைத்தவர்கள் சோழந்தண்ணீருங்குறையறுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்குமா போலே,"

சு on 9ம் பத்து, 3ம் திரு., 1ம் பாட்டு.

From this it is understood that *sarvāthitya* is the grand feast, given as for instance in connection with the *kumbhābhishēka* etc., ceremonies. The same occurs also in an inscription found in the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai; it runs thus:—

“ திருக்கால்க்காரப் பெருமாள் தீபதிச்சீசுஞ் செய்தருளிக் செல்லாநின்ற மூவாயிரத்தெழு.
நூற்றையா மாண்டைக் கெதிராண்டு.....”. Herein also the word seems to mean the *kumbhābhishēkas* of the temple at Tirukkākkarai; this inscription appears to give incidentally the date of construction of the temple as 3705 which seems evidently to refer itself to the Kali era and which is equivalent to A.D., 603·4, a date which does not militate against that of Nammālvār (that is A.D. 798 according to Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai), the Śrīvaiṣṇava saint who has personally paid homage to it in his *Tiruvāṇmoli*.

T. A. G.

TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES.

VOLUME II.

NO. 1. SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF THE 15TH YEAR OF RAJARAJA THE FIRST.

The inscription edited below is to be found engraved on a rock in the first *prākāra* of the Sthāpūnāthasvāmin temple at Suchindram. This rock bears on it several other ancient inscriptions of the kings of the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa dynasties. At a later period in the history of this temple, a shrine named Kailāsa was built upon the summit of this little rock and a *prākāra* wall was erected round the shrine. In putting up both these structures a number of inscriptions have been suffered to undergo more or less damage. The one under consideration is built in at the end, but otherwise its preservation is very good.

The alphabet in which the record is written is *Vatṭeluttu* and the language, *Tamiḷ*. It belongs to the reign of the great Chōḷa king Rājarāja I and is dated the thirtieth day of the solar month Kanni, which corresponded with a Tuesday and the nakshatra Purvābhādra (Pura-viraṭṭādi), in the fifteenth year of the reign of the king. This date has been calculated and verified by Prof. Kielborn and the result published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume V, p. 48, as Tuesday, 29th August 999 A. D. The inscription records that certain arrangements were made by the Sabhā and the Mūlaparaḍaiyār regarding the conduct of the secular business of the temple, which the latter declined to do any longer. It is not to give to the public this little piece of information contained in the document nor with a desire to add to the stock of inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja I that the present one is edited, but to revise the interpretation put on certain important passages of the historical introduction by the former editors and which has by sheer repetition got so fast into the mind of the scholars and laymen alike and which has been, equally firmly, believed by at least a small section of the scholars from the very beginning to be an unsatisfactory explanation. A number of facts which have been gathered during the past seven or eight years enables me to review in this paper the explanation offered to one historical event, namely, the so-called destruction of ships by Rājarāja at Kāndaḷūr-śālai.

Dr. Hultsch and Mr. Venkayya were the persons who first took up seriously the study of the Chōḷa records and indeed did very much for the construction of a fairly complete history of the Chōḷas. In translating the inscriptions of the Chōḷa kings they adopted the tentative method. In rendering the particular passage under consideration into "destroying the ships at the road-head of Kāndaḷūr (or Kāndaḷūr-śālai)" they had to take three steps. In Volume I of the *South Indian Inscriptions* we find the passage

*Tirumagal-pōla peru-nilachchelviyum taṇakkē urimai-pūṇḍamai maṇakkōḷi-kkāndaḷūr-
chchālai kalam-arutt-arūḷi,*

translated thus: "While both the goddess of fortune and the great goddess of the earth, who had become his exclusive property, gave him pleasure,—was pleased to build a jewel (-like) hall at Kāndaḷūr,"—a translation carrying with it neither the sense of the original as a whole nor based upon anything like the correct understanding of each word of the sentence. Any student of *Tamiḷ* will be shocked to hear the passage *kalam-arutt-arūḷi* translated into 'having built a jewel-like hall,' for, not a single word therein bears any shadow of such a meaning to warrant a translation like the one given by the editors. Dr. Hultsch, the Editor-in-chief, found at a somewhat later stage that the meaning assigned by him to the passage was untenable. He says: "This expression, which was mistranslated in *Vol. I*, seems to refer to some incident

in the king's early life, perhaps to some feat, by which he showed the great strength of his arm. In an inscription of the 12th year of his reign, which was published in *Vol. I* (No. 146), காத்நூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளி is the only epithet which precedes the name of the king as a kind of *biruda*. Consequently, he revised his translation of the passage thus: "While his heart rejoiced, that, like the Goddess of Fortune, the Goddess of the great Earth had become his wife having been pleased to cut the vessel (*kalam*) (in) the hall (at) Kāndaḷūr." The third attempt at refining the translation occurs on p. 241 of *S.I. Inscriptions, Vol. II*. The translation runs thus:— 'While his heart rejoiced, that, like the Goddess of Fortune, the Goddess of the great Earth had become his wife,.....having been pleased to destroy the ships (at) Kāndaḷūr-sālai' and the foot-note on it reads as follows: "That this is the correct translation of the ambiguous words காத்நூர்ச்சாலைகலமறுத்தருளி, may be concluded from two inscriptions of the Chōla king Kō-Rājakesarivarman *alias* Rājādhirājadēva, at Vēlūr and Tiruppaṅgili, which read: சோலன் வேலை கெழுகாத்நூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுப்பித்து, 'he caused to be destroyed the ships (of) Śēralaṇ (i. e., the Chōra king) at Kāndaḷūr-sālai, which is situated on the sea.' Accordingly, Kāndaḷūr-sālai appears to be a place on the Malabar Coast. In the *Kalīṅgattu-Parani* (xi. 71) the shorter form *sālai* is used for it." This translation has been finally adopted and is now accepted by scholars without dispute. With the facts then available it was perhaps the most satisfactory translation of the passage possible. Let me now proceed with my interpretation of the passage, based upon the new facts since discovered. Before doing so, it is necessary to ascertain definitely the meanings of the words employed in this particular passage occurring in the inscriptions.

The words that have offered the greatest difficulty in translating are *urimai-pūṇḍu*, *maṇakkōla* or *maṇakkōl* (*karuḍi*), *sālai*, *kalam* and *aruttu*. The compound *taṇakkē-urimai-pūṇḍu* simply means 'having assumed the exclusive possession to oneself'; it does not warrant the translation of the passage into "had become his wife". *Maṇakkōl* means 'a fact taken into one's mind, or an assumption', therefore *maṇakkōl-karuḍi*, means 'having regard to the faith or assumption'; that *maṇakkōl* has this meaning is not a mere guess based upon probability and the context, but is warranted by the usage of classic authors. The phrase *maṇakkōlaleṇḍum* occurs in l. 18, *Puraṇjēriy-irutta-kōḍai* of the *Śilappadigāram*; the Arumbadavuraṇy-āśīriyar gives its meaning thus: *tiru-vuḷatt-aḍaiikka-veṇḍum*, that is, 'be it pressed into your mind': and Aḍiyār-kunallār renders it thus *tiru-vuḷam-parral-veṇḍum*, which is but a paraphrase of the other commentator's explanation. Thus, then, the phrases *maṇakkōla* and *maṇakkōl-karuḍi* mean 'having taken (the fact) in his mind' and 'bearing in mind the assumption.' The next word *sālai*, (1) the true import of which could have been easily found out from such compounds as *śēra-sālai*, *arachchālai*, *uṭṭu-chchālai* or *aravūṇ-sālai*; in all these instances it means a place where a public institution was situated. All temples had attached to them a boarding school

(1) Compare, (a) "தீர்த்தகரையுந் தேவர் கோட்டமு—மோத்தின் சாலையு மொருக்குடனின்னு."

ll. 27—28, அழற்படுகாதை, சிவப்பதிகாரம்.

(b) "வேள்விச்சாலை."

l. 170, வரந்தருகாதை, *Ibid*.

(c) "...நான்மறையாளர் நன்றுண்டாகென தாமுறைபிழையார் தலைநின் றுண்ணுஞ் சாலையுந் தளியும்."

உதயணன் கதை, வத்தவகாண்டம், யாழ்ப்பெற்றது.

(d) "... சாலை தளி சிறுமின்."

v. 306, ஜீவகசிந்தாணி, நாமகளிலம்பகம்.

The commentator paraphrases the word சாலை as அறச்சாலை.

known as *śālai*; and the word *śālā* in Sanskrit definitely means a school, and to an epigraphist the word *śālābhōgam*, meaning the land granted for maintaining the upkeep of a *śālai*, will be very familiar. In this *śālai*, along with the casual visitor Brāhmaṇas, the student Brāhmaṇas, who were permanent residents there, also messed. In this sense the word is used in one of the inscriptions of Rājaraṇja I, found in Tanjore: it runs thus *śevittuvanda-Siva-yōgigal paḍiṇmarum Uḍaiyār śālaiyilē unṇakkaḍavar*; this passage has there been translated thus: "ten Śiva yōginshave to be fed in the hall (*śālai*) of the temple." That *śālai* means no other thing but a place where a large number of Brāhmaṇas were fed will become patent as we proceed. Again in an inscription of the king *Kō-kkarunandaḍakkaṇ*, the passages *Kāndaḷūr maryāḍiyāl tonṇūrr-aivar ṣaṭṭarkku śālaiyum śeydāṇ*; and *ich-chāḷaikkū peyda kalāttil Paviliya-charaṇattār-uḍaiya-kalam nārpaṭtainḍu, Taittiriya charaṇattār-uḍaiya kala-muppattāru, Talavakāra-charaṇattār-uḍaiya kalam paḍiṇṇū*" occur. They have been translated thus: 'the king Śrī Karunandaḍakkaṇ made (established) in conformity with the rules of Kāndaḷūr, a *śālai* for ninety-five *ṣaṭṭars*' and 'Of the seats established in this *śālai*, the members of the Paviliya-charaṇa have forty-five, the members of the Taittiriya-charaṇa have thirty-six, those of the Talavakāra-charaṇa have fourteen' (1). From these passages it will be clear that a *śālai* is a place where *brāhmaṇas* are fed, while *kalam*(2), which is the same as *uṇkalam*, is a vessel or leaf from which one eats his food. If it is said that so many *kalam*s were allotted for each *charaṇa*, it means that so many seats both in the school and the dining hall were reserved for each *charaṇa*. The last word is *aruṭtu* means cut, destroyed or made to cease. The whole passage beginning from *Tirumagaḷ* and ending with *aruṭtu-aruli* may now be translated thus: 'Having regard to the faith or conscientiousness that the goddess of the great earth had become, like the goddess of wealth, his own, he discontinued the

- (e) 'விசைய, சீவகன் பிறந்தவிடம் சுடுகாடாகக் கிடவாதபடி சாலையாக்கிக் கோவந்தன் அதற்குரியனும் நின்று நாடோறும் பிள்ளைப்பாலுமளந்து செய்வைச் சொரிந்து அமுத்ததையும் ஊட்டப்பண்ணி இவ்வறம் வைகுகையாலே பரிவை யகன்றான்.'

Com. on v. 2604, முத்தியிலம்பகம், ஜீவகசிந்தாமணி.

- (f) 'ஸ்ரீபுகலூர் டேவர் ஸ்யூரஹஸ்யாபி சுரோது செய்தருளும்போது உத்தரோகுமாக [லுவ]லோகமாணிக்கவாழ்ச்சிபிழைத்து வாகுர் நம்பியார் குளத்திற் தெக்கரையிலே நித்தம் பன்னிரண்டு ஸ்ரீஹ்ணர் உண்பதாக ஜயங்கொண்ட மண்டலத்துப் புலியூர்க்கோட்டத்துப் பேரூர்நாட்டு நெற்குன்றத்து நெற்குன்றம் கிழார் அரயங்கருணையகரான களப்பாள ராஜர் செய்வித்த சாலேக்கு..... சாலேப்புறமாக.....இச்சாலை உண்கைக்கு இறையிலேசெய்து குடுத்து.."

Extract from an unpublished inscription of the Śiva temple at Tirupugalūr in the Tanjore District.

- (1) Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I pp. 6, 8 and 13.

- (2) Compare.

- (a) "பொற் கலத்தே எனக்கும் அமுதமிட்டார்." Com. on v. 399, நாமகளிலம்பகம் ஜீவகசிந்தாமணி.
- (b) "செம்பொற் கலத்தையும் பக்கத்தீட்டங்கனையும் பரப்பித் தங்கின அறுசுவையடிசிலே யேந்த..." Com. on v. 2025, சுரமஞ்சரியாரிலம்பகம், ஜீவகசிந்தாமணி.
- (c) "திருவெள்ளறை திருவானைக்கற் பெருமானடிஞ்சும்போது அமுதுசெய்யும் போது வேதம் வல்லாநொரு பிராஹ்ணன் உத்தமசூர்த்து ஊட்டுவிதாக ...வச்சுபொன்...இப்பொன்னின் பலிசையால் ஊட்டுவதானபடி தாலமொன்று வட்டிலோன்று..."

uniformly known as Kāndaḷūrchechālai. I extract from one document a portion of it for the information of the readers: (1)

1. மீனச்சனி மீனவியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் 956 மாண்டு துலாமாசம் 5 சென்ற செவ்வாய்க்கிழமையும் பறணியும் அபர பகூத்து பிரதமையும் 12 முக்கால் நாழிகைக்குமேல் துவதீதியையும் நித்திய யோகமும் கூடிய திவசம் பகல் 5 நாழிகைக்கு மகர ராசி நேரத்து

2. காந்தள்னூர்ச்சாலை மஹாதேவர் க்ஷேத்திரத்தில் புஷ்பாஞ்சலி உடைய முன்சிறை மட புறத்து மூப்புஸ்தானம் ஆரோஹணமாய கேளாசுவர்ணன தூய்யாகிரமி ஸ்ரீ புஷ்பாஞ்சலி தி...ட்டு சாஸ்திர தாஸ கோவிந்த பிரம்மாந்த தீர்த்தர் எழுந்தருளி இருந்தருளிய இடத்து ; The passage means that when Saturn and Jupiter were in the Mīṇa rāśi, in the Kollam year 956, on the 5th, in the solar month Tūlā, which was a Tuesday and the *nakṣatra* Bharani and the first *tiṭhi* of the dark fortnight (and *duṣṭi* was to begin after 12½ *ghaṭikās*) and the *yōga nitya*, at 5 *ghaṭikās* after sun-rise, in the Makararāśi, Gōvindaabrahmanānda Tirtha ascended the pontifical seat and became the *puṣkṛdūṣṭi*-*svāmīyūr* (the *svamyasin* who does worship to the image of god with flowers) of the temple of the Mahādēva at Kāndaḷūr-śālai.....The Valiya-śalai temple is situated at least 3 miles away from the sea and வேலைகெழு காந்தள்னூர்ச்சாலை means the Kāndaḷūr-śālai surrounded by or situated near the sea. The same sort of description is given of Tiruvanandapuram, also another quarter of the town Trivandram, in Nammālvār's *Tiruvāymolī*, பெரியநீர்வேலை சூழ்ந்த... (திரு)வணந்தபுரம்(2), the beautiful (city of) Anantapuram surrounded by the large watery ocean. In the earliest inscriptions of Rājārāja I so far discovered dated the 8th and 10th years of the king, the only military achievement ascribed to him is the discontinuance of the Kāndaḷūr-śālai. It appears therefore that the earliest known great act of Rājārāja I is the conquest of the Chēra country and the discontinuance of the various *śālais* existing in that country. The *Kalīṅgatiṣṭupparāṇi* very prominently mentions the fact of the conquest of the Udiyar-maṇḍalam (the Chēra kingdom) by Rājārāja, who, it is stated therein, was seated upon his incomparable elephant like the rising sun (upon the summit of the Udayagiri) and the performance in the conquered country of the festival of the Śatabbisha *nakṣatra*(3). We know that the Śatabbisha *nakṣatra* was the natal star of Rājārāja I and that he also instituted a festival of seven days' duration to the god at Tirunandikarai in South Travancore to commence seven days earlier than the day of the Śatabbisha *nakṣatra* in the month Aippiśi (See *Travancore Archaeological Series*, pp. 291-292).

(1) The original is in the Malayālam characters and in the Malayālam language: for the benefit of the Tamil knowing scholars, the inscription is here given in Tamil.

Mention is made of the temple of Kāndaḷūrśālai-Mahādēvar in an inscription in my collection (No. 16 of 1084). It reads thus:—"ஆலத்தூர்தேசத்து சுரப்புக்காட்டில் குளத்தின்மேல் காந்தள்னூர்ச்சாலை மாதேவர்க்கு வாரம்போக..." "Deducting the rent due to the (god) Mahādēva of the Kāndaḷūrśālai on (the lands situated in the village of) Śurappukkāḍu in the Ālattūr-dēśam."

(2) திருவாய்மொழி, 10-ம் பத்து, 2-ம் திரு., 4-ம் பாட்டு.

(3) "சதயநான் விழா உதியர் மண்டலம்

தன்னில் வைத்தவன்றனியோர் மாவின்மே

லுதய பாணுவொத்துதகைவென்ற கோ

னொருகைவாரணம் பலகவர்ந்ததும்"

பா. 24, ராசபாரம்பரியம், கலிங்கத்துப்பரணி.

Herein the conquest by Rājārāja of the Udiyar-Maṇḍalam and of Udagai or Udayagiri, perhaps the important outpost of this name next to Padmanābhapuram, and the performance of the festival of Śatabbisha *nakṣatra* in the conquered country are mentioned.

Kāndaḷūr seems to have had from very early times an important *śālai* which served as a model to all others. For, we learn from the inscription of the king Karunandaḍakkaṇ that he made arrangements for the conduct of a boarding school for Vēdic students after the model of the Kāndaḷūr-śālai. In spite of Rājarāja's attempt to subvert the name of the Chēra institution, it seems to have resisted successfully the forcible attempt and continued to be conducted only in the name of these kings. For, we see Rājādhirāja and Kulōttuṅga I, repeatedly turning their attention to this *śālai* and discontinuing its maintenance in the name of the Chēras. Then, again, Parāntaka Pāṇḍya, a later king of the Pāṇḍya dynasty and a contemporary of Kulōttuṅgachōla I also claims to have interfered with the Kāndaḷūr-śālai.⁽¹⁾

We have already mentioned that the Chēras were always famous for their charitable feeding. Tamil literature contains the praises of several ancient sovereigns of the Chēra country as great givers of food: for example, Puruṇ-jōrṟu-Udiyaṇ-Śēral Āḍaṇ is said to have fed the contending armies of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas in the great Mahābhārata War.⁽²⁾

Another ancient king called Imayavarambaṇ I *alias* Neduṇ-chēral-Āḍaṇ is said to have been so enthusiastic in offering food to all those that visited him, that owing to the enormous number of his guests he felt a shortage of hands for adequately supplying their wants and consequently urged even the high-placed ladies of his household to work in the kitchen. He is further described as one who could not endure people being insufficiently fed. The Chēra King Śelvakkaḍuṇ-gō-vāḷiy-Āḍaṇ was a great patron of the brāhmanas. He was ever busy arranging for the brāhmanas performing yāgas in his country.

This ancient *ūṭṭuppurai* institution, which was maintained out of the rich donations made for the purpose by liberal kings and pious individuals in the past, under government supervision, remained from time immemorial the just pride of the kings of the Malabar Coast; but owing to the stress of modern civilization and perhaps other circumstances such as financial, the *ūṭṭuppurais* in the Cochin and Travancore States have been mostly abolished within the past ten years. It is this *gratis* feeding of the indigent poor that earned for these two Native States the name of Dharma-rājya, by which name it is even now referred to by people outside these States.

Text.

1. [ஸ்ரஹிஸ்ரீ] [||*] திருமகள் போலப் பெருநிலச்செல்வியுந் தனக்கே யுரி-
2. மை பூண்டமை மனக்கொளக் காந்தனூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளிக் க-
3. ங்கபாடியும் னுளம்பர்பாடி[யும்]⁽³⁾ தடியர்பாடி உம்⁽⁴⁾ வேங்கைநாடும் கு-
4. டகமலைநாடு⁽⁵⁾ தண்டாற்(க்)கொண்டு தன்னெழில் விளங்க ஊழியில் எல்லாபா-

(1) "காந்தனூர் மண்டோற்ற வேந்தர்மறம்" Śuvaṇṇ Māraṇ *alias* Perumbidugu Muttaraiyaṇ, the feudatory of the Pallava kings Paramēśvaravarman II and his successor Nandivarman Pallavamalla, appears to have defeated the combined armies of the Pāṇḍyas and the Chēras at Kāndaḷūr. See the *Journal of the S.I. Assn.* Vol. II. pp. 8, 16 & 20.

(2) "ஓரைவ ஈரைம் பதினம் ருடன்மருந்த போரிற் பெருஞ்சோறு போற்றுது தானளித்த சோன் பொறையன்மலையன்."

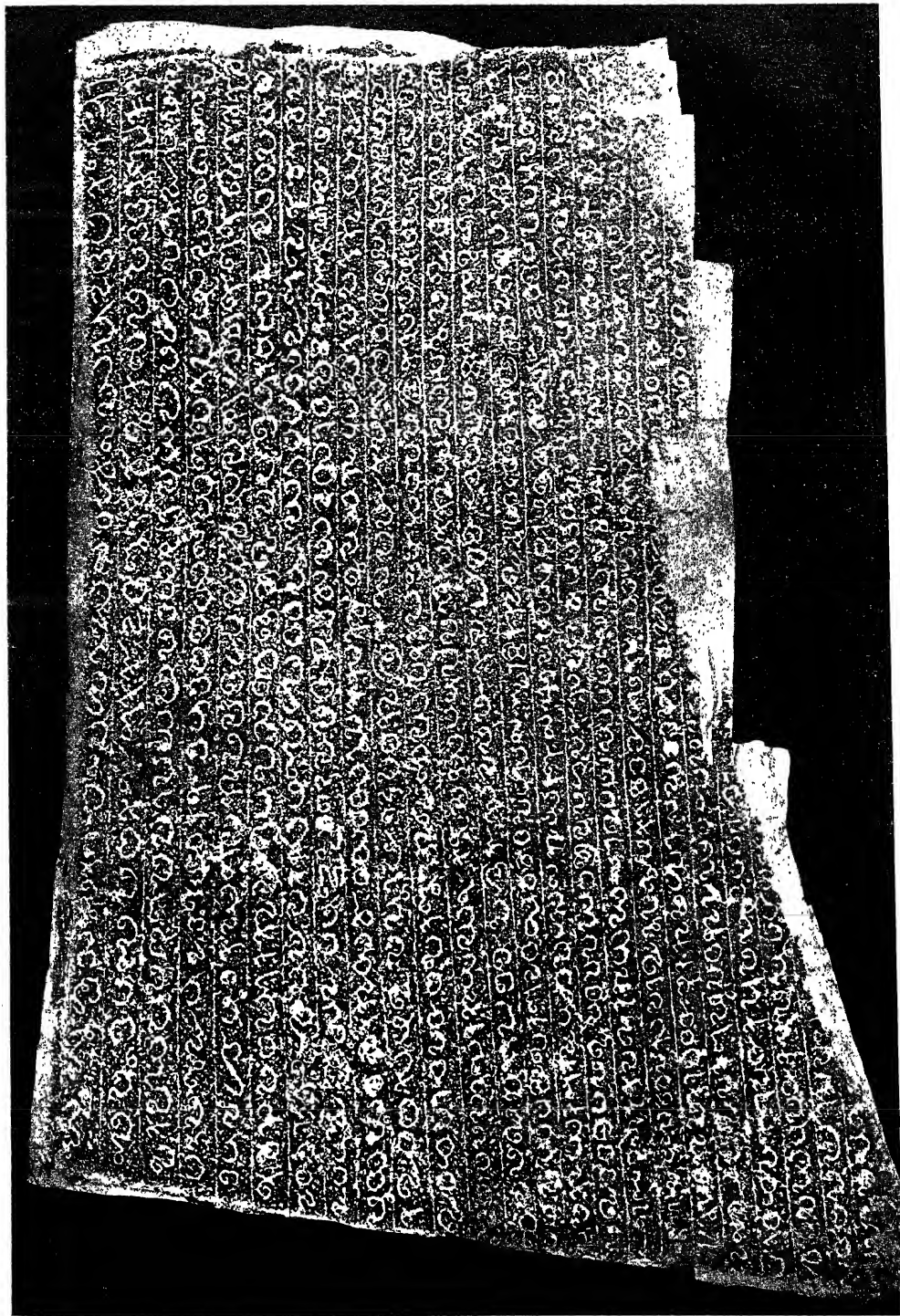
(3) Read துளம்பர்பாடியும்.

(4) Read தடியர்பாடியும்; other inscriptions of Rājarāja call this country as தடிகைபாடி.

(5) Other inscriptions have குடமலைநாடு, a name which appears in the text of சிலப்-பதிகாரம்; Adiyārkkunallār, its commentator renders this name in his commentary unvariably into குடகமலைநாடு. Thus it appears குடமலைநாடு is the older form of குடகமலைநாடு.

வாழ்த்துகாதல், சிலப்பதிகாரம்.

SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.



1 3 5 7 9 11 13 15 17 19 21 23

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24

5. ண்டுந் தொழுதகவிளங்கும் யாண்டே(ய்) செழியரை தேசுகொள் கோஇராசராச-
6. கேசரி[வ]ன்மர்க்கு யாண்டு பதினைஞ்சு [||*] இவ்வாண்டு கன்னி நாயிற்று முப்பதா-
7. ந்[தியதி] செவ்வாய்க்கிழமை பெற்ற புரவிரட்டாதி நாள் இராசராசவள-
8. நாட்டு நாஞ்சினாட்டு ஸ்ஹபெய்யு திருச்சிவிந்திரத்து லஹா-[*] ஸலெலெயோம் காள்-
9. மூதிவி[ச்சு]க் குறிசாத்தி[த்தி]ருவக்கிர சாலையிற் கூட்டம் நிரம்பக்கடி இருக்-
10. க[||*] இதன்கீழ் இவ்வூர் மா[பெய]ற்கு ஸ்ரீகாரியமாராய்கின்ற மு(ஸ்ர)ல பரடலலெயார்
11. இத்தேவர் தேவதானங்களுக்கு இறையிறுக்க[உ]ண்ணுதென்றும்⁽¹⁾ ஸ்ரீகாரியமும் ஆராய[உ]ண்ணு⁽¹⁾
12. தென்றும் பரடைக்குடியிலாகளா(ய்)யிட்டுப் பரடைக்குடியிலாரும் இத்தேவற்கு இ-
13. றையும் இறுக்க[உ]ண்ணுது⁽¹⁾ ஸ்ரீகாரியமாராய ஊண்ணுதென்றும்⁽¹⁾ லஹா[*] ஸலெலெயார் கை(ய்)வி-
14. ட்[டே]டாம் [||*] விடநாங்க[னை]ந்⁽²⁾ தனிச்சத்துடரில் ஸூரிக் கு ஒருபத்தைக்கழுஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவதாக-
15. வும் [||*] குடிகள் துடரில் குடிகளால் ஐ(ய்)ம்பதின் கழுஞ்சு செய்தா பொந்தண்டப்படுவதாகவு-
16. ம்[||*] இத்தண்டம் இறுத்துப் பின்னையும் தேவகாரியஞ்சுட்டித் துடராய் போமென்று தேவகாரியம் ல-
17. ஹாலலெலெக்கு இக்குடியிலா[ரை] ஒட்டி விட்டமையில் லஹாலலெலெயோம் செய்த ஸ்ரீகாரிய[மாவது].
18. [ஸலெலெ]யோம் வைச்ச வாரியர் இரு[வரு]ம் கரணத்தானும் கூடி தேவகாரியம் செய்வதாகவும் [||*] இவ்வாரிய[ர்]
19. இருவற்கும்⁽³⁾ கரணத்தானுக்கும் பேரால் நியதம் [அய்]நாழி... பதகு⁽⁴⁾ மாழாக்கு இ.....
20. நெல்லும் இவ[ர்*]கள் மூவற்கும் வீட்டைமுதல்.....கள் ஓரோ ஓரோகா.....
21. செய்து விடுவதாகவும்[||*] ஆட்டாட்டை.....
22. வதானம் ஊரவ.....

(END BUILT IN).

- (1) Read ஒண்ணுது.
- (2) Read நாக்களே.
- (3) Read இருவர்க்கும்.
- (4) Read பதக்கு.

Translation.

Ll. 1-10. Be it well! Prosperity! In the fifteenth year of (the reign of) the king Rājārājakēsarivarman, who, keeping the fact in his mind that, like the goddess of fortune, the goddess of the great earth had become all his own, was pleased to discontinue the feeding (*kaṭan-arutt-aruli*) at Kāndaḷūr; whose prowess was glowing by having taken with his army Gaṅgapāḍi, the Nuḷambarpāḍi (the country of the Nuḷambas), the Taḍiyarpāḍi (the country of the Taḍiyar), Vēṅgaināḍu and Kuḍagamalaināḍu; who abstracted the glory of the Śēliyar (the Pāṇḍyas) in that (very) year which was worthy of being worshipped by the other years as the year in the (whole of) eternity;—on the thirtieth day of the month Kaṇṇi (which was a) Tuesday and (the nakshatra) Puravirattāḍi (Pūrvāshāḍha), while we the members of the *mahāsabhā* of Suchindram, a *brahmadēśa* (a village granted to brāhmanas and inhabited by them) belonging to Nāñjināḍu (a sub-division) of the Rājārājavalanāḍu, having blown the horn (*kālam*) convened a full meeting of the *kuṛi* (*sabhā*) which assembled in the *agra-śālā* (dining hall in the temple).

Ll. 10-14. In this meeting we, the members of the *mūlaparaḍai-sabhā*, who are managing the business of (the temple of) the (god) Mahādēvar of this village, informing that it was impossible for us (hereafter) to pay the rent on the lands belonging to the temple (*dēvadāna*) nor was it possible for us to manage the business (of the temple); and that it was impossible (even) for the tenants of the *paraḍai* (*paraḍaiyil-kuḍiyilār*) to pay rent nor to manage the business, made over (the charge of the rent recovery and the management of the business of the temple) in the hands of the *mahāsabhā*.

Ll. 14-15. Having (now) left off (these responsibilities), if any one of us singly lay any claim, such an one shall suffer a fine of ten *kaḷaṇḱus* of gold; if (on the other hand, any) one of the tenants should make any claim, that one shall submit oneself to a fine of fifty *kaḷaṇḱus* of gold.

Ll. 16-17. We further renounced in favour of the *mahāsabhā* our claims on the management of the god's business (fearing) that even after paying down the said fine, (some one) might lay pretensions (to the right of management, etc.); and (therefore) made these tenants subject to the *mahāsabhā*.

Ll. 17-20. Thereupon we, (the members of) the *mahāsabhā* made the following arrangement: the two *vāriyars* and a *karaṇattāṇ* appointed by the *mahāsabhā* should manage the business of the god; (for which) five *nāḷis*.....*padakku* and *āḷākkku*.....*paddy*.....

(The rest of the inscription is fragmentary and cannot be translated).

No. 2. AN INSCRIPTION OF RAJASEKHARA.

The subjoined inscription is engraved upon two sides of a single copper-plate, and was through the perseverance of my pandit Mr. V. Srinivāsa Sāstri, Smṛitiviśārada, brought to light. It is said to belong to the Talamana Illam near Changanāśēri.

The document is incomplete; there ought to be at least one more plate which is not forthcoming. The inscription is in an excellent state of preservation. It is written in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet of the same kind as that found in the Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭilavarman Parāntaka Paṇḍya. Both the vertical and the slanting varieties of letters have been used indiscriminately in the writing,—a fact evidencing the statement made by me elsewhere that the verticality or the slantness of the letters does not form a criterion for the determination of the age of a Vaṭṭeḷuttu document, as was supposed by some epigraphists. The peculiarities of the alphabet of this type have been commented upon by the editor of the Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭilavarman in some detail in his paper on this grant and by me in the *Travancore-Archæological Series*, Vol. I,

p. 286 and need not therefore be reiterated here. A number of Sanskrit words, e.g., *Nama-śśivāyah*, *Śrī Rāja-rājādhirāja-paramēśvara bhaṭṭāraka Rājasekharadēvarkku* in l. 1; *Rājasekharadēvar* in l. 2 and *Mātri-parigrahamu* in l. 5 occur in this document and these are written in the Grantha characters, which are somewhat later than the alphabet of the "Kāśākuḍi" and other early Pallava grants : but more nearly akin to those of the fragmentary record published by me in the *Travancore Archaeological Series* on pp. 198-200.

The inscription belongs to the reign of a king hitherto unknown to history. He is called Rājasekharadēva and bears the imperial titles *Śrīrāja*, *Rājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Bhaṭṭāraka* ; in the 12th year of the reign of this king an arrangement was made by the people of the eighteen *nāḍus* belonging to Tiruvāṇṇuvāy and the townsmen of Vālaippalli who assembled under the presidency of the king Rājasekharadēva. It was resolved in the meeting (1) that those who hinder the performance of the firmly established *baḷi* ceremony (*muṭṭāppali*) should be liable to pay a fine of one hundred *dināra*, and be considered to have committed the sin of having married their own mothers, (2) that the servants who let the ceremony fall in desuetude should be also obliged to pay each a fine of.....*nāḷis* of paddy each time the ceremony was stopped on account of their negligence. The paddy obtained as *padavāram* should be added on to the amount set apart for the *śānti* or *pūjā*, and (the remaining) nine parts for the *baḷi* ceremony. The paddy levied as fine was made payable to the temple before the midday *baḷi* of the day of the Pushya nakshatra, perhaps of each month. If the fine was not paid in due time, the delinquent should be subjected to twice the fine from the day of default. (3) The following plots of land were given to the (god) of Kailāsa (*Kailādam-uḍaiyaṇār*) namely, (a) *Kiraṇ-kaḍambaṇār-kari* yielding ten and fifteen *kalams* of paddy respectively in alternate years, (b) *Maṇḍila-kaḷam* and *Uḷa[śē]li* yielding ten *kalams*, (c) *Kallāṭṭu-vāy-vēli* of five hundred *nāḷis* (c) *Kāñikkā* yielding five hundred *nāḷis*, (d) *Ūragam* and *Pilikkōṭṭu-puraiyidam* and the adjoining *puraiyidam* belonging to Śaṅkari, (the daughter) of the Kāvadi, Kaṇṇaṇ, yielding a hundred and fifty *tūṇis* of paddy and three *dināras*. (e) Two *vēlis* in the *maṇṇam* in the *Aiyaṅkāḍu*.....Dāmō (daraṇ).....

One of the notable facts in the document is the mention of the coin *dināra*, the *dinarius* of the Romans, which probably was current so late as the time of the record under discussion.

The age of the king Rājasekhara cannot be exactly determined at present, as the date given in the document is merely the regnal year of the king ; but from the palæographical standpoint, we may confidently state that it cannot be later than the 9th century nor earlier than the 8th century A.D. The name Chennittalai Aḍigaḷ Irāyaśekharaṇ occurs also in the Huzur Treasury Plates belonging to the temple of Tiruvallā, as a past donor to that temple ; from the palæography, this latter document can be assigned to the 9th—10th century A.D.

The discovery of this record is of very great importance for the history of Kēraḷa as also that of Saṅskṛit literature. Hitherto we had no document of the early kings of Malaināḍu. That Rājasekhara was indeed a real Chēra king could be inferred from the imperial titles borne by him, from the grant of lands made by him in the vicinity of Tiruvāṇṇuvāy in the heart of Kēraḷa and from the fact that the persons who attended the meeting convened by him were residents of the eighteen districts surrounding Vālaippalli (a suburb of the modern Changanāśēri), another place very near Tiruvāṇṇuvāy, also in Kēraḷa. As we have already observed, the palæography of the inscription does not warrant us to assign the record to a period earlier than A.D. 750 or later than 850 ; there is therefore an irresistible temptation to consider the question of the identity of this king with Rājasekhara the celebrated Saṅskṛit poet. It is a fact too well known to the students of Saṅskṛit literature that Mādhavāchārya in his *Saṅkaravijaya* mentions a person named Rājasekhara and calls him a king of Kēraḷa and states

that he presented three *nāṭakas* of his own composition to the great *advaita* teacher Śaṅkarāchārya. But the author of the *Śaṅkaraviṇaya* does not mention the names of the three dramas. In a later work called *Jagad-guru-ratnamālā-stava* which gives an account of the *svāmīs* of the *Kamakōṭī-piṭha* or the Kumbhakōṇam Maṭha of Śaṅkarāchārya, and which is based upon several earlier accounts such as the *Śaṅkaraviṇayas* of Ānandagiri and Mādhavāchārya, the author Sadāśiva-brahmendra has the following verse :

कृतसदृकसत्तिनाट्यबन्धव्रतयायावरराजशेखरान्धम् ।
हृतवन्तमनन्तमन्त्रशक्तिं व्रतिगङ्गाधरमाश्रयेऽर्थसूक्तिम् ॥

We know from some copper-plate grants belonging to the Kumbhakōṇam Maṭha that the author, Sadāśivendrasarasvatī lived in the second half of the 16th century A.D. and the commentator of this work *Ātmabōdhēndrasarasvatī* was the co-disciple of the author. He comments upon the verse thus :

कृतेति कृतं सदृकं कर्पूरमञ्जरीनामापरूपकं येन कृतसदृकः त्रिनाट्यबन्धे बालरामायणप्रचण्ड-
पाण्डवविद्वत्सालभञ्जिकाख्यरूपकत्रयविरचनेन योव्रतः नियमस्तेन सहितास्त्रिनाट्यबन्धव्रतः सचयः यायावरराज-
शेखरः तदाख्यः कविः तस्यान्वयमपाटवमक्षोरान्तुकत्वादिति ज्ञेयम् ॥

From this we are informed that the Kēraḷa king Rājāsēkhara was the author of *Bālarāmāyana*, *Viddhasālābhāñjikā*, *Prachanḍapāṇḍava* and *Karpūramañjarī* and that his blindness was cured by Gaṅgadharavratī, third in descent, according to this authority, from Abhinava Śaṅkara.

But some of the following internal evidences and facts seem to militate against such a supposition.

- (1) That he was the *guru* of a king named Mahēndrapāla *alias* Nirbhaya.
- (2) He, being called *guru*, *upādhyāya*, &c., titles which are generally borne by brāhmaṇas, is believed to be a brāhmaṇa ; also, because he is said to have belonged to the Chāhamānakula (the Chōhans) he should be taken to be only a Kshatriya.
- (3) He mentions Akāḷajaladā, the Mahārāshṭra Chūdāmaṇi, as his great-grandfather and he also states that one of his ancestors was Surānanda of Chōdimaṇḍala.
- (4) He mentions Mahōdaya as his capital. He also mentions the name Kanyākubya and Gādhipura, which are synonyms of Mahōdaya.
- (5) He makes mention in his *Bālarāmāyana* of the following authors. Bhāvabhūti, Menṭha, Śaṅkaravarman. Taraḷa and Kavirāja ; and in the *Karpūramañjarī*, the author of *Mrigāṅgalēkha*, Aparājita, Hala (*Śātavāhana*, the author of *Bṛihat-kathā*), Hariśchandra, Nandichandra and Kōṭīśa. Of these Śaṅkaravarman and Aparājita appear to have been the contemporaries of Rājāsēkhara.
- (6) Rājāsēkhara refers to the *Āścharyamañjarī*, a work of Kulaśēkhara and we know this work was written by the same Kulaśēkhara who wrote the *Tapatī-Saṁvarāṇa*.
- (7) A verse is quoted in the *Sūktimuktāvalī* as being that of Rājāsēkhara ; it mentions that a person named Raṇavigrāha was the contemporary of Rājāsēkhara.

In (2) the name Chāhamāna might well be a mislection of the word Chāramāna ; and the mislection might have been suggested by the more modern and prominent dynasty of the Chōhan Rajputs, and the name Chāramāna of an important dynasty of ancient kings of Drāviḍa is almost forgotten in more recent times. That he is dubbed *guru* and *upādhyāya* and that he was a Yāyāvāra does not militate against his being a kshatriya and a king of Kēraḷa. For, from the very

TABLE OF VATTELUTTU LETTERS EMPLOYED IN THE INSCRIPTION OF RAJASEKHARA.

Con- sonants.	k	i	ch	ñ	dh	ṇ	ṭ	n	ṇ	ṭ	ṇ	ṭ	ṇ	ṭ	ṇ	ṭ	ṇ
a	ക	ച	ഛ	ഞ	ഠ	ഡ	ഢ	ണ	ഠ	ഡ	ഢ	ണ	ഠ	ഡ	ഢ	ണ	ഠ
ā	ക		ഛ		ഠ	ഡ	ഢ	ണ	ഠ	ഡ	ഢ	ണ	ഠ	ഡ	ഢ	ണ	ഠ
i	ഈ		ഈ		ഈ	ഈ	ഈ	ഈ	ഈ	ഈ	ഈ	ഈ	ഈ	ഈ	ഈ	ഈ	ഈ
ī	ഈ																
u	ഉ																
ū	ഉ																
e	എ		ഈ														
ai	എ																
o	ഒ																

നകളുപയോഗം: രാജാപരമേശ്വര ഭട്ടാരക രാജാശ്വര ഭട്ടാരക = namassivāyah
 രാജാപരമേശ്വര ഭട്ടാരക രാജാശ്വര ഭട്ടാരക =
 രാജാപരമേശ്വര ഭട്ടാരക = māṭṭarigiriham.

earliest times, the kshatriya women were consorting with Brāhmaṇas, more especially in Kēraḷa, and the Kēraḷiya kings had and have practically been leading the life of brāhmaṇas, studying all *sāstras* and teaching them also to students who went to them for tuition. Again, after they had attained a certain age these kings abdicated the throne in favour of their juniors and led the life of *Vānaprasthas* or *Yāyāvaras*. No more prominent example of this could be quoted than the abdication a year ago of the highly cultured Rājā of Cochin, who is now devoting his well-earned repose to the pursuit of his favourite study, the Vēdānta. Hence Rājāsēkhara might very well have been a *guru* and a *upādhyāya* and yet be a kshatriya and *yāyāvara*. That his capital was Mahōdaya (4) need not drive us to seek his kingdom elsewhere in Northern India. Mahōdaya is the name of Tiruvaṇjaikkalām or Koḍuṅgōḷūr (the modern Cranganore). This Tiruvaṇjaikkalām, the ancient seat of the Chēramāṇ-perumāls is actually referred to by the name Mahōdaya or Mahōdayapaṭṭaṇam in medieval Tamil literature as also in a number of epigraphical records.* That Rājāsēkhara mentions the names Kanyākubya and Gāḍhipura, the synonyms of the North Indian Mahōdaya is but natural; for, what places more important than Mahōdaya of the north is worth being visited by his hero Rāma on his way down to South India? But in the portion where the Sītā-svayamvara occurs in the Bālarāmāyaṇa, while he mentions such kings as those of Karnāṭaka, Kāñchīpura and Sīmbala as having attended it, he does not mention the king of Kēraḷa as one of them. As suggested by my friend Mr. K. P. Padmanābha Mēnōn, B.A., B.L., the omission was due perhaps out of modesty, if we take Rājāsēkhara the poet himself to be the then king of Kēraḷa. His mention of Akāḷajaladā, the Mahārāshṭrachūdāmaṇi and Surānanda of the Chēdimāṇḍala (3), kings of two different royal families as his paternal ancestors appears absurd unless we take that the descent is traced in the female line. In the latter case the father and other ancestors may belong to different families, the marital tie having been of the same type as in the modern *sambandham* or the Gāndharva form. This mention of members of two families as his ancestors clearly shows that Rājāsēkhara belonged to a community, whose women were following the Gāndharva form of marriage which was at one time universal in the Drāviḍa country and which had become by the time of our record peculiar only to Malabar. In confirmation of the hypothesis that Rājāsēkhara was a Kēraḷiya we have one more fact. It is the mention of the god Padmanābha, one of the most famous deities of Malaināḍu and the tutelary deity of the Mahārājas of Travancore, who traces his lineage from the Chēramāns, in his *Bālarāmāyaṇa*. The verse in which the name occurs runs thus:—

நிர்ஷேஷ் காச்யபாய க்ருதவிபிசுரவே தக்ஷிணிசூர்ய பூர்வீ

காண்டேய்யோதிர்சிவக்ஷணதேர்மபுரிபுஷ்யநெய்யஸ்தவாந் வாரி யேம்ய: ।

தானேலானாடிகேரீக்ருமுகுபுணிலதாராஜரமபாவனந்தா-

நம்மோதேர்மமாமாநாதிவசதி சதா மாரீவோ மரீசிஷ்ய: ॥

Mr. Padmanābha Mēnōn believes that Malabar was the land inhabited by the race of people known as the Nāgas and hence the people of the present day are known as Nāyars (a

* Compare “மலையாட்டு...பழம்பதிதான்...திருவஞ்சைக்களமு சீலவிய சேரர்குலக்கோ வீற்றிருந்து முறைபுரியுங்குலக் கோமுகுதார் கொடுக்கோணர்” (v. 1), “மதில்குழம்...வளநகர் தான் கோதையரசர் மகோதையெனக்குலவு பெயருமுடைத்துவதில்” (v. 4), “பொன்னிவளநாடகன்று மகோதையினின் மேற்புக்கால்...” (174), பெரியபுராணம், சுழற்றறிவார்புராணம்.

‘Magōdaiyarpattinattu Iravikorttan’. Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, pp. 294-5. ‘Malaimaṇḍala—[itu] Magōdaiyarpattinattu Irāyiran Śiriyān’. Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, p. 198.

corruption of Nāgas): he finds in another verse of the work quoted above a reference to the Nāgakanyās of Kēraḷa and to the Pāṇḍya king: the verse is as follows:—

यत्कीर्त्तिं मलयाद्रिचन्दनलताकुञ्जे भुजङ्गाङ्गनाः

श्रुत्वा तच्छबरीजनात्फणिपतेर्गीयन्ति यं गीतिषु ।

पाण्ड्यसोयमुदन्वयवृषाकिष्मान्यदस्यस्वयं

दातुं मौक्तिकामधेनुरसमा सा ताम्रपर्णी सरित् ॥

So much in support of the Kēraḷa king Rājāsēkhara being identified with the poet of the same name. Let us now turn our attention to the other side of the question.

If Rājāsēkhara was, as he says, the great-grandson of the Mahārāshtra-chūdāmaṇi Akūlajaladā, a name which must be taken to be a synonym of Akālavarsha, he must be the great-grandson of either Kṛishṇa I, Kṛishṇa II or Kṛishṇa III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, all three of whom being Akālavarshas. These kings lived in about A. D. 750, 898-912, and 950 respectively. Of these, Kṛishṇa the first, is perhaps the only one who could have been the great-grandfather of Rājāsēkhara, while the other two Kṛishṇas, being rather later in point of time, cannot be his great-grandfather as will be presently demonstrated. The mention of Śaṅkaravarman, who appears to be Śaṅkaragaṇa *alias* Raṇavigraha of the Kalachūri dynasty of Chōḍi (5) as his contemporary brings down the age of Rājāsēkhara to A. D. 940-950. And Aparājita another of his contemporaries has to be identified with the Śilabāra prince of that name, who is said to have lived in the last quarter of the 10th century A.D. The age of the various persons mentioned by Rājāsēkhara as his contemporaries distinctly show that Rājāsēkhara the poet, though he might be a Kēraḷiya king, must have lived long after Śaṅkarāchārya who is known to have flourished in the earlier decades of the 9th century A.D. He cannot also be identified therefore with the king Rājāsēkhara of the document under consideration: for, his age from the palaeography is not so late as A.D. 950. We should therefore assign a later period to the poet Rājāsēkhara and if it is possible to identify him with a Kēraḷa king, then the second and later king Rājāsēkhara should be a successor in the line of the Rājāsēkhara of our record and very likely be also his nephew and successor.

The editor of the *Tapatī-saṁvarāṇa* takes its author, Kulaśēkhara, to be the Śrī-vaishṇava saint of the same name; if this surmise be correct, Rājāsēkhara the poet who quotes the *Ācharyamañjari*, another work which is attributed to the author of the *Tapatī-saṁvarāṇa* should have lived only after Kulaśēkharāḷyār. The Honourable Mr. L. D. Swāmikkannu Pillai has, from the calculation made from the astronomical details furnished by the *gurunparamparā* of the Śrīvaishṇavas for the birth of this *āḷvār*, arrived at A.D. 766-767. Hence Rājāsēkhara should have lived sometime after A.D. 767 (6).

To sum up—

- (i) the king Rājāsēkhara of the copper-plate under notice was different from Rājāsēkhara the poet;
- (ii) that he lived about the beginning of the 9th century A.D., which is the period in which Śaṅkarāchārya flourished and that therefore he might have very likely known and seen the *āchārya*;
- (iii) that if the poet Rājāsēkhara was a Kēraḷa king he should have been later in point of time than the Rājāsēkhara of our document, and might perhaps be his successor;

INSCRIPTION OF RAJASEKHARA.

1a
2
4

7
9

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

SCALE 0. 64.

Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

(iv) and that the poet should have lived in the latter half of the 10th century A.D.

Thus, there appears to be some foundation for the faith that at the time of Śaṅkarāchārya there lived in Kēraḷa a king named Rājasekhara, though he might not have been the author, according to this tradition, of three dramas and other works.

The places mentioned in the inscription are Tiruvāṅṟuvāy and Vālaippalli; of these the latter is a flourishing suburb of the town of Cheṅganāsēri and has an old Śiva temple with some excellent wood-carvings in it.

Text.(1)

First Side.

1. நஜிஸ்வாயி [11*] ஸ்ரீராஜராஜாயிராஜவரதேஸ்வர ஹாரக ராஜஸேவா
தேவகூடம் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு பந்[ரி]ரண்டு [1*] அவ்-
2. வாண்டு திரு[ரு]வாற்றுவாய் பதினெட்டு நாட்டாரும் வாழைப்பள்ளி ஊராருங்
கடி ராஜஸேவரதேவர் [ரு]-தகூ[2] க்கீழ்வைத்து செய்த கச்சம்[11*].
3. திருவாற்றுவாய் முட்டாப்பலி விலக்குவார் பெருமானடிக்கு நூறுதிநா
ரந்தண்டப்படுவது [1*] லோதுவரிமு ஹேம-
4. ஞ்செய்தாராவது [11*] பணிமக்கள் முட்டிப்பார் மெய்வேற்று வகையாலுரியக்
கொளி ஆனாழி[3] நெல்லொரொபொழுது த-
5. ண்டமிந்நெற் பதவாரம் சாந்திப்புறம் [1*] ஒன்பது கூறும் பலிப்புறமா
வது [11*] இத்தண்ட[ந்][4] தையப்பூபத்தினுஞ்ச்-

Second Side.

6. சிப்பலிஇன்முன்[5] குடுப்பது[11*] குடாதுவிடிவிரட்டி கடவியராவது [11*]
கஇலாத[6] முடையானற்கு குடுக்க-
7. பட்டபூமியாவன [1*] கீரங்கடம்பனாக்ரி ஓராண்டிருபது ஓராண்டிருபத்தை
ங்கலமும் [1*] மண்டிலகளத்தோ-
8. தேழ்சேலி[7] பதின்கலமும் [1*] கள்ளாட்டுவாய் வேலி ஐதூற்று நாழியும் [1*]
காஞ்சிக்காவின்னூர் நூற்றுநாழி-
9. உம்[1*][8] ஊரகத்து பிலிக்கோட்டு புரைஇடமு[ம்] மதனருகே காவதிகண்
ணஞ் சங்கரன் புரை இடத்தின்-

- (1) From both the original and the impressions.
- (2) Perhaps திருவடிக்கீழ்வைத்து.
- (3) Read நானாழி.
- (4) Read தையப்பூபத்தினுன்; this நூ is engraved below the line.
- (5) Read பலியின்முன்.
- (6) Read கைலாச முடையானற்கு.
- (7) Is it உழ வேலி?
- (8) Read நாழியும்.

10 மேனாற்றைம் பதி(1) தூணி நெல்லு முன்று திராரமும் [1*] ஐயன்காட்டு
புற்றத்திரண்டு வேலிஉந்(2) தாமோ-

(INCOMPLETE).

Translation.

Line 1. Adoration to Śiva. The year twelve (of the reign) of the prosperous king Rājāsēkharadēva (who bore the *biruḍas*) Rājādhirāja, Paramēśvara and Bhaṭṭāraka (was current),

Line 2. (The following was) the arrangement made by the men of the eighteen *nāḍus* belonging to Tiruvārruvāy and the townsmen of Vālaippalli who met under the presidency of (literally at the feet of) Rājāsēkharadēva.

Line 3. Those who stop the perpetually endowed *bali* ceremony (*muṭṭāppali*) in the Tiruvārruvāy (temple) should pay to the king (or the god?) a fine of one hundred *dināras*; and (are to be considered) as having taken their (own) mothers for their wives.

Line 4. Among the servants, those who stop (the *bali* owing to their own negligence), should each pay a fine of paddy as measured by and made up to four *nālis* for each occasion (the *bali* is so stopped).

Lines 5-6. Of this the paddy due as *padavāram*(3) should go to the capital (set apart) for the *śānti* and the (remaining) nine parts for the *bali*. (And) this fine should be remitted before the midday *bali* of the Pusryanakshatra in the month of Tai. If not so paid, they become liable to pay twice the amount. The following are the lands given to the (god in the shrine named?) Kailāsa: the plot (*kari*, belonging to), Kirāṇkaḍambanār, which yields one year twenty and another year twenty-five *kalams* (of paddy); Maṇḍilakkalam together with *Uḷaśēli* yielding ten *kalams*: Kaḷḷāṭṭuvāy-vēli (or a plot of land one *veli* in extent in Kaḷḷāṭṭuvāy), yielding five hundred *nālis*; from Kāñjikkā, five hundred *nālis*; from the gardens (*puraiyidam* named) Pilik-kōḷu and the garden belonging to Kaṇṇaṇ Śaṅkaraṇ who held the position of a *kāvadi* (accountant) which adjoins it (Pilikkōḷu *puraiyidam*), both situated in Ūragam and yielding one hundred and fifty *tūṇi* of paddy and three *dināras*; two *velis* in the land (*maṇṇam*) in Ayyaṇkāḍu, Dāmōḍaran's.....

(1) Read தூற்றைம்பதின்தூணி.

(2) Read வேலியும்.

(3) This word occurs also in an inscription of Bhāskara Ravivarman at Tirukkākkarai. Its exact meaning however is not known. Compare with this word, the *kō-ppadavāram* and the *padippadavāram* occurring in the Syrian Christian plates of Kōṭṭayam.

NO. 3. INSCRIPTION OF VĪRA-PĀṆDYADĒVA AT SUCHĪNDRAM.

The inscription edited below is engraved on the natural rock situated in the first *prākāra* of the Sthānucāthasvāmin temple at Suchīndram. The space on the rock on which this epigraph is engraved was first ruled and between every two lines the writing is executed. There are on the whole thirty lines of writing in a fairly good state of preservation. The inscription is written in Tamil and Grantha characters and in the Tamil language. The few Sanskrit words, such as *Svasti Śrī* (l.1) *Virasimhāsma* (l.6), *Trailōkhya* (l.6), *tribhuvana-chchakravartiga* *Śrī Virapāṇḍyadēvar abhishēka* (l.7), *Rāsītāgōttrattu*, *Āslāyana-sūtrattu* (l.8), *tiruv-āyushyārtthamāha* (ga) (l.11), *dānam* (ll.12 and 19), *Suchīndram* (ll.18 and 30) and *prasādam* (ll.21 and 28), &c., are written in the Grantha alphabet. The letters, both Grantha and Tamil, resemble very closely those of the time of Kulōttuṅgachōla I (compare the Plates given in S. I. I. Vol. III, Part II and in *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. I, plate facing the text of the Cape Comorin inscription of Parāntaka Pāṇḍya) and might therefore be assigned to the eleventh or the twelfth century A.D.; they are clearly earlier than the alphabet employed in the Śrīraṅgam inscription of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva edited by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III (see also the plate that accompanies his article on that inscription).

The inscription has an introduction (*ney-kkīrti* in Tamil) which claims only one act of valour to its hero, Vīra Pāṇḍya, namely his subjugation of the Malainādu. Since the epigraph is engraved at the time of the coronation or a few days later, the military achievement of the king referred to above must have taken place before his coronation. As there was nothing more to add to the credit of the newly crowned king in his introduction, the poet has, as usual with the Pāṇḍya records of the medieval period, introduced the traditional doings of the earlier Pāṇḍyas of the semi-historical period attributing them to his hero: for instance it is stated that he fought in the Mahābhārata (!), went on an embassy for the sake of some kings (perhaps the Pāṇḍavas, as the word *kings* is in the plural number), fought in the battles between the *Dēvas* and the *Asuras*, wore the necklace of the lord of the gods (Indra), and learnt the Tamil literature from Agastya. The Śiṅṅamaṇūr plates also claim practically the same achievement for the earlier members of the Pāṇḍya dynasty; "the inscription next proceeds to mention the achievements of Pāṇḍya kings in the past without giving any names. Among these may be mentioned the churning of the ocean for nectar; appearing on the throne of Indra with his necklace; mastering the Tamil language; bringing back the sea; obtaining the titles Pūliyaṇ and Pañchavaṇ; founding the city of Madura and fortifying it; excelling paṇḍits in learning Tamil and Sanskrit;engraving the fish, the tiger and the bow on Mount Mēru;..... translating the Mahābhārata into Tamil.....". The earlier inscription of Rājasimha II, recorded on the larger Śiṅṅamaṇūr plates, is much more modest than the record under discussion; the former claims for one of the ancestors of Rājasimha II only the credit of having got the Mahābhārata translated in Tamil (*Mahābhāratam Tamil-ppaḍuttiiyum*), but does not make him figure as party in the war.

The document is not dated for obvious reasons: for, it was practically of the first few weeks of the first year of the reign of the king. There is neither the title Jaṭāvarman nor Māra-varman prefixed to the name; there is simply the phrase *kō-mudal-korrvanṇmarāṇa* in their stead. The record, while incidentally referring to the coronation of the king Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva (*abhishēkam*), states that for ensuring long life to the king, certain land-grant was made to the god at Suchīndram. At the time when he made this grant, the following persons were present with the king: Nārāyaṇaṇ Śēndaṇ *alias* Iḍaiyāṇṇumaṅgalattu Nambī of the Rāsītāgōtṛa (?) and the

The facts that Vira Pāṇḍya took refuge with the Kūpaka king at Kollam and that his son bears a distinctly Kēraḷa name, Vira-Kēraḷa, enable us to surmise that the then reigning Kūpaka was perhaps named Vira Kēraḷa (1), that his daughter was married by Vira Pāṇḍya and that the Pāṇḍya crown prince was named after the maternal grandfather.

Another inscription from Murappunāḍu in the Tinnevely district informs us that Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Vira Pāṇḍyadēva conquered Īlam, Koṅgu and the Śōlamanḍalam and that he was pleased to perform the anointment of the heroes and victors at Perūmbarrappuliūr (Chidambaram). Before the wars of succession Vira Pāṇḍya might have invaded and conquered Īlam (Ceylon) in a subordinate capacity and afterwards become friendly with the Ceylon king. The first fact might have served as the basis of his boast of having conquered Īlam, while the latter might account for the help he received from the Singhalese. That a large portion of the Chōḷa country was taken by him is evidenced by the Ārappakkam and the Tirukkaḍavūr inscriptions and is not inconsistent with his claim for the conquest of the Chōḷamanḍalam, nor with the performance of his anointment of heroes and victors at Chidambaram, which is so near Tirukkaḍavūr. Thus then, there appears now no difficulty in taking the Vira Pāṇḍyadēva of our inscription as identical with Jaṭāvarman Vira Pāṇḍya mentioned above. This identification is borne out by the further fact that his son (*Pillaiyār*) is said to be Virakēraḷa Pāṇḍyadēva, a name which is also assumed by the Uttaramantrin Virakēraḷa Pāṇḍyakkōṇār. The uncertainty of Vira Pāṇḍya's retaining the throne, nay even his life, seems to have troubled the minds of the good *brāhmaṇa* officer, Nārāyaṇa Śēṇḍaṇ *alias* Iḍaiyāṅṅumaṅgalattu Nambi, the crown prince Vira-kēraḷa Pāṇḍyadēva and the Uttaramantrin Vira Kēraḷa Pāṇḍyakkōṇār and prompted them to get the king to grant this land to the Sthāpunāthasvāmin for granting him long life.

If the surmises made above are correct, the king Vira Pāṇḍyadēva becomes the contemporary of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III. Mr. Venkayya has expressed his opinion that there is nothing against identifying the Vira Pāṇḍya, the opponent of the Chōḷas, Rājādhirāja and Kulōttuṅga, with a Vira Pāṇḍya the initial year of whose reign is A.D. 1253. It appears to me that this identification is untenable, because the last year of Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III hitherto known is A.D. 1215 and he that fought and lost his life with one whose reign ended in A.D. 1215 cannot have been crowned in A.D. 1253.

Vira Pāṇḍya might be one of the brothers of Kulaśēkhara to whom the latter gave some territories, or he might be the son of his brother. In the latter case Parākrama Pāṇḍya, the father of Vira Pāṇḍya, must be a brother of Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya (perhaps an elder brother).

The one solitary military achievement that is mentioned in our inscription, namely, his conquest of the Malaināḍu might have taken place sometime before his coronation; in this expedition he perhaps defeated Virakēraḷa, took his daughter in marriage and afterwards reinstated him on his throne.

The period of the history of a dynasty of kings, who are deprived of their kingdom and liberty by foreign conquest, but are suffered to live in a subordinate position to the conquerors, is

(1) In all probability, the Virakēraḷa, king of the Kūpaka country, conquered by Vira Pāṇḍya was the father of Sangrāmadhira Ravivarman. Ravivarman, in his turn, is said to have married the daughter of a Pāṇḍya king after defeating him; it might be that Ravivarman attacked and defeated the adversary of Vira Pāṇḍya (*i.e.*, Vikrama Pāṇḍya) and married his daughter. With the friendship thus secured with Vira Pāṇḍya and Vikrama Pāṇḍya by marriage ties, he was able to overrun the country as far north as Conjeevaram, defeat the Telugu-Chōḷa princes and be anointed at Kāñchi.

always hazy and therefore difficult to picture; for example, the subjugation of the Chōlas by the Pallavas, which took place evidently sometime in the reign of the Pallava Mahēndravarman I, or perhaps earlier has completely wiped out of memory of the people the history of the predecessors of Vijayālaya; a similar period of haziness in the history of the Chōla kingdom and confusion in the order of succession among the kings followed the conquest and subjection of the Chōla country by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, (Kannaradēva). The same state of confusion regarding the history of the Pāṇḍyas occurs in the period covered by the reigns of the Chōla kings beginning with Parāntaka I, up to Rājārāja III, a period of over three centuries. If we hear anything about the Pāṇḍya kings at all, during this period, it is only casually, when we learn barely their names and what happened to them. But when we come to the reign of Rājārāja III, when the Chōla power was visibly on the decline, we see the activities of Maravarman and Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas in subverting the Chōla domination in the Kāveri delta. The history of these later Pāṇḍyas, who enjoyed some sort of independence would be easy at present to work out, if all the materials that lie locked up to the advantage of no one in the office of the Madras Epigraphist were made available to the world at large or to competent scholars outside the department. An attempt in the direction of the construction of such a history of the later Pāṇḍyas was made successfully in Vol. I, No. VI of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. It is perfectly possible to bring into proper alignment the innumerable Sundara Pāṇḍyas, Vikrama Pāṇḍyas, Kulaśākhara Pāṇḍyas, Vira-Pāṇḍyas and others, and to build up their history, which is of special interest just now, because of the theory of contemporaneous multiple sovereignty of Pāṇḍyas propounded by the Hon'ble Mr. L. D. Swāmikkannu Pillai and of the attempt of Mr. R. Sewell to disprove this theory.

The names of places that occur in this inscription are:—Iḍaiyārrumaṅgalam, Tirupputtūr, Purattāyanāḍu, Pūśaṅkuḍi, Pullālaṅkuṇichohi, Murappunāḍu, Maravaṇūr, Venbaikkudinaḍu, Malaikkūṇṇam, Viḷattūr, Śembilnāḍu, Arayanēri, Tiruvaludivaḷanāḍu, Kōṭṭūr and Karaṅgudi. Of these, Tirupputtūr is the head-quarters of the Taluka of the same name in the Madura district. Purattāyanāḍu is the name of a portion of South Travancore and South Tinnevely district. Murappunāḍu, is in the Śrīvāikunṭham Taluka of the same district; Maravaṇūr should be looked for near Murappunāḍu; Tiruvaludivaḷanāḍu, appears to be the name of the country round Ālvār-Tirunagari; Kōṭṭūr should be looked for near Ālvār Tirunagari. There are two places called Vēmbaṅkudi in the Trinchechuli Taluka and the Śivagaṅga Taluka respectively, of the Madura district; either of these might be identified with Venbaikkudi.

Text.⁽¹⁾

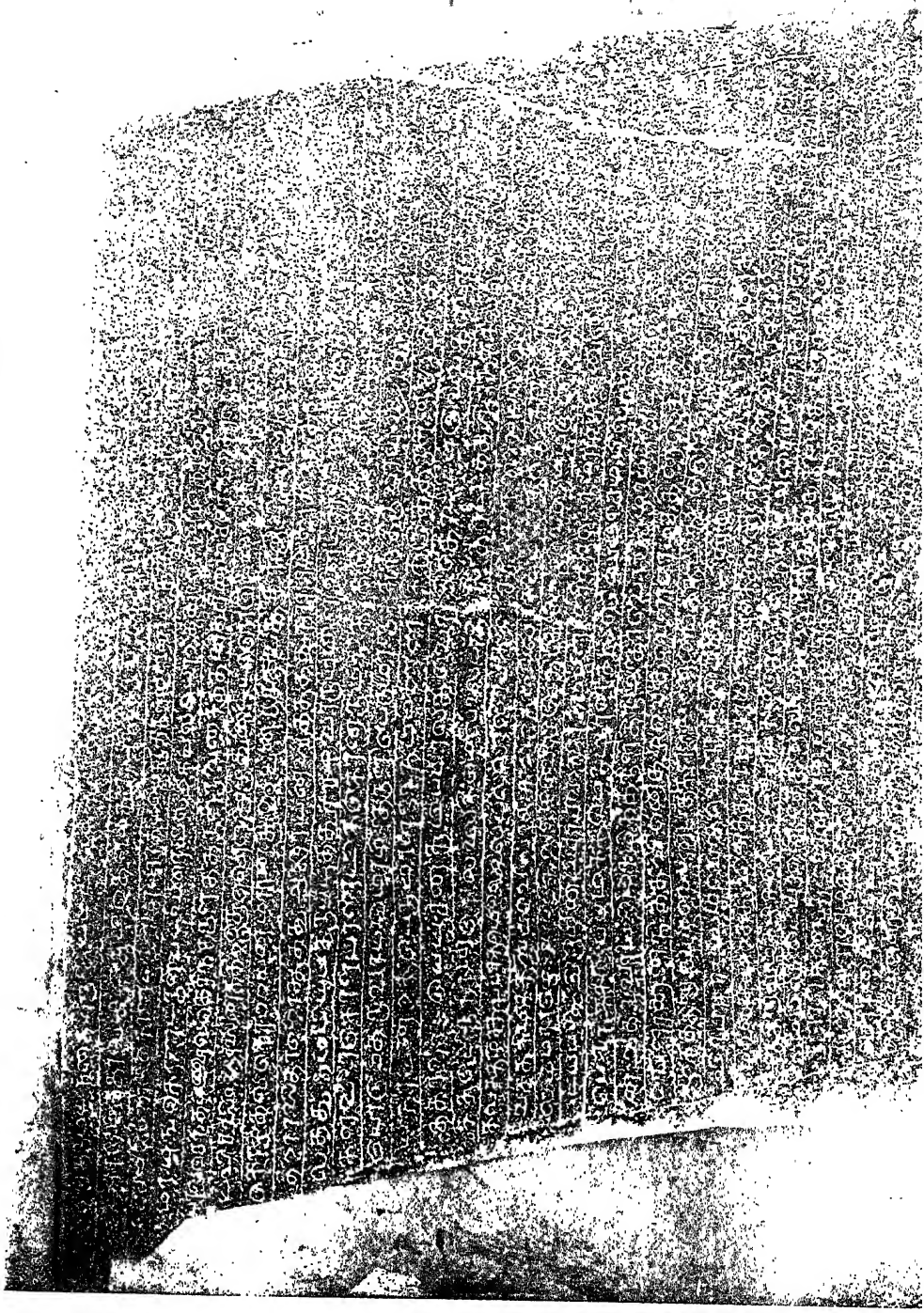
1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [❖] பூமடந்தையஞ் ஐயமடந்தைய [❖] பொலிந்து திருப்புயத் திருப்ப பார் [முழுது] ங்குடை நிழற்ற [(பராசு-8)]⁽²⁾
2. [பராசு] மத்தால் முடிசூடி தென்மதுராபுரி[த்] திருவினைய[ாட்டத்திற் கண்டு மன்னரெல்லா[❖] வந்திறை-
3. ஞ்ச மலைநாடு கொண்டருளி மாபாரதம் பொருதருளி மன்னவற்கு தூது சென்றரு[ளி] தேவாசா[மது]கை தரித்தி தேனரு-
4. மாயுந்⁽³⁾ கொண்டருளி வடவரையி(ல்)ற் கயல் பொறித்து வானவர்கோனூரம் பூண்டு திடவாசகக்குறுமுனி-

(1) From the impression prepared under my supervision.

(2) Here is some confusion in the letters caused by interlineation, erasure &c.

(3) Perhaps the reading here is தேனருமா(றை)யுந்

SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPANDYA.



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5. பால் செந்தமிழ்நூல் தெரிந்தருளித் தளிர்நுங்கைத்த⁽¹⁾ மாதுரிமைச் செங்கோ-
லெங்குந் திசை நடாத்தி மன்னி-
6. ய வீரவலிஹாஸனத்திற் றெஞ்ஞலோஷு⁽²⁾ முழுதுடையாரோடும் வீற்றி-
ருந்தருளி மாமுதல் மதிக்குலம்^[1*] விளக்கிய
7. கோமுதல் கொற்றவன்மரான தி லு வனச்சகுவதிட்கள் ஸ்ரீவீரவாண்ஷு
பேவர் சுவிஷேச காலத்-
8. திற்⁽³⁾ நாவலிதாமோதூத்து ஆரூராயனஸைத்து⁽⁴⁾ நாராயணன்சேந்த
(த)னா இடையாற்றுமங்க-
9. லத்து நம்பியும் திருப்புத்தூராழ்வாரும் பிள்ளையார் வீரகேரளதேவரும்
உத்தரமந்திரி-
10. கள் வீரகேரளபாண்டியக்கோனாரும் நிக்க⁽⁵⁾ இடையாற்று மங்கலத்து நம்பி-
11. யோடும் திருவாய்மொழிந்தருளி பெருமானுக்கு திருவாயுஷுராசு-போஹ⁽⁶⁾
ஸூவிந் முடை-
12. ய நாயனாற்கு பெருமாள் ஞானம் பண்ணிக்குடுத்தருளின லுமி தென்-
கூற்றுப் புற-
13. த்தாநாட்டுப் பூசன்குடிப்பால[த]வோடு தோட்டம்^[11*] இவ்வதவோடு-
தோட்டத்து-
14. க்கு பெருநான்கெல்லை ^[1*] கிழெல்லை பாதிரித்தோட்டத்து நீர்நக்கல் தென்
னெல்லை-
15. கல்க்குழிக்கு வடக்கு மேலெல்லை புல்லாலங்குறிச்சிக் கர்க்கைவயலில் ஒற்று-
வாயல் கிணற்-
16. றுக்கு கிழக்கு வடவெல்லைகறடிகும்பல்கடம்புக்கு தெற்கு ஏரி இரண்டினால்
விளை நி-
17. லமும் காடுமுள்ப்பட நிலம்^[1*] ஏழுவேலி ^[11*] இந்நிலமேழுவேலியும்
இறையிலி காராண்மையு^[மு]-
18. ட்பட ஸூவிந் முடைய நாயினாற்கு ஞானம்பண்ணினார் பெருமாழ்⁽⁷⁾ ^[1*]
முன்னுடையாரும் பழம்-
19. பேரும் நீக்கி ^[11*] இப்படிக்கு பெருமாள் கல்லிலும் செமபிலும் வெட்டிக்
குடுக்கவெ-
20. ன்று திருவாய்மொழிந்தருளி திருமந்திரவோலை முரப்புநாட்டு மறவ
னாரம்பலவன்
21. வேளானா நத்தவினோத மூவேந்தவேளாரொழுத்தினால் ஸ்ரீஸாடிஞ்செய்த
ருளிய ஸ்ரீ-

(1) Perhaps தளிர்நுங்கை.

(2) Read றெஞ்ஞலோஷு.

(3) Read °த்தில்.

(4) Read ஆரூராயன.

(5) Read நிக்க.

(6) Read °மாக.

(7) Read பெருமாள்.

22. முகத்தினாலும் வேனாபதிகள் வெண்பைக்குடிநாட்டு இளவெண்பைச் சந்தி
சேகரனா-
23. வீரபாண்டியமூவேந்தவேளார் கடைபீட்டினாலும் புரவுவரிதினைக்கள நாய-
கம்-
24. மலைகூற்றத்து விளத்தூர் நாராயணன் கேசவனா தென்னவசிகாமணி
மூவேந்தவேளாரெ-
25. முத்தினாலும் (கி) முகவெட்டி நாயகம் செம்பில் நாட்டு அரையனேரி தாயன்
பொன்னனா கு-
26. தும்பிலுடையானெழுத்தினாலும் கூற்றுக்குகூறு திருவழுதிவளநாட்டு
கோட்டிப் பேர-
27. குளாவன் [கி]ற்றங்குடியான் வானவன் வழதிக்கோன்ட்டின் உள்
வரிபடியாலும் நி[தக] தவினோத மு-
28. கந்தபொனாரெழுத்தினால் பூவாடிஞ்செய்தருளிய பூ முகத்தாலும் வீர
பாண்டிய மூவேந்த வே-
29. வார் கடைபீட்டாலும் புரவுவரியா ரெழுத்தி[ட்ட] உள்வரியாலும் இக்கால
முதல் திருப்படிமாற்று-
30. ஸ்மிட்டன செலுத்துவாராகச் சொன்னோம் ஸுவிநு முடைய நாயன
ற்கு [11*].

Translation.

Lines 1-13. When the monarch of the three worlds (*tribhuvana-chakravartti*), the Korra-varman Vira Pāṇḍyadēva, who made the lunar race illustrious (by being born in it) and who was the foremost among kings,—while the maiden of the flower (Lakshmi, the goddess of riches) and the maiden of victory (Jaya-Lakshmi) were residing on his shoulders, while his umbrella was affording shade to the whole world—, was crowned (solely) through his prowess; was pleased to take the Malaināḍu and was paid homage to by all the kings who visited him in his own capital; was pleased to fight out the war of Mahābhārata; was pleased to go out on an embassy for the kings (Pāṇḍavas?) [fought in the battle] between the *dēvas* and the *asuras*; was pleased to take; engraved the (figure of the) carp fish on the northern mountain (Mōru); wore the necklace of the lord of the gods (Indra); was pleased to learn the Tamil literature from the sage (Agastya) who was strong in words (speech) and short in stature; protected all the quarters (of the globe) with the sceptre held in his hand which was as soft as tender leaf; and was pleased to be seated upon the resplendent and victorious throne (*siṃhāsana*) with (his consort) the possessor of the three worlds,—at the time of the coronation (of Vira Pāṇḍyadēva), when there were present Nārāyaṇa-Śeṇḍaṇ *alias* Idaiyārmaṅgalattu-Nambi of the Rāsita-gōtra and the Āśvalāyana-sūtra, Tirupputtūr-Ālvār, the prince Virakēraḷadēva and the *uttara-mantrin* Virakēraḷapāṇḍya-kkōṇār, the king was pleased to speak to Idaiyārmaṅgalattu-Nambi that for granting him (the king) long life, he was pleased to make a grant of land to the god at Suchindram; (its name was) Adavōḍutōṭṭam which was situated in Pūśaṅguḍi (a village) in the Purattāyanāḍu. The four major boundaries of this Adavōḍu-tōṭṭam (were):—

Lines 14-30. The eastern boundary was the *nīrnakkal* of the Pādiri-tōṭṭam; the southern boundary, the stone pit (quarry), situated to the north of which was (the land that was

granted); the western boundary was the well called Orruvāyal-kiṇaṇu in the field called the Karkaṇai vāyal in (the village of) Pullālaṅkuṛichchi, to the east of which was situated (the land that was granted); and the northern boundary was the *kaḍambu* (tree) near the Karaḍi-kumbal. (The extent of this land) was seven *vēlis* including the two tanks, the arable land and the forest land. The king presented to the god at Suchīndram this (plot of) land which was made tax-free and so as to include the right of *kārāṇmai*, after the old tenants and its old name was removed. Thus the king was pleased to command (the grant) to be engraved upon stone and copper; the order which was drawn up by the hand of and proclaimed by the *tirumandira-ōlai* (secretary) Ambalavaṇ-Vēlaṇ *alias* Nittavinōdamūvēndavēlaṇ of Maravaṇūr in the Murappu-nāḍu, which was initialled at the bottom by the *sēnāpati* (commander-in-chief) Chandraśēkharaṇ *alias* Virapāṇḍya-mūvēndavēlaṛ of Ilaveṇbaikkūḍi in the Venbaināḍu, which was signed by the *puravuvāri-tiṇaikkāla-nāyakam* Nārāyaṇa-Kēsavaṇ *alias* Tennavaśikhāmaṇi-mūvēndavēlaṛ of Viḷattūr in the Malaināḍu; by the *mukaveṭṭi-nāyakam* Tāyaṇ Ponnaṇ *alias* Kuṛumbiludaiyāṇ of Arayanēri in the Śembilnāḍu, and by the divisional officer Pērarulālaṇ Karaṅguḍiyāṇ *alias* Vānavaṇ-valudikkōṇ of Kōṭṭur in the Tiruvaludi-vaḷanāḍu. Thus did we (the king) order that from this time (day) all expenses (of the temple) including the *tiruppaḍimārru* be supplied to the god at Suchīndram in accordance with the order issued by Nittavinōdamūvēndavēlaṇ, initialled by Virapāṇḍya-mūvēndavēlaṛ and signed by the *puravuvāriyār*.

No. 4. TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF ŚRĪVALLAṆGŌDAI AT TIRUVANVAṆḌŪR.

A single copper-plate bearing on it a complete inscription of the reign of Śrīvallaṇḡōdai, a king of Vēṇāḍu, till then unknown to epigraphy was discovered by me and published in 1907 in the 9th Volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*. No other inscriptions of this king were available till 1911; during the field-season of that year two stone inscriptions of this king were discovered in the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr. They are edited below from impressions prepared under my supervision.

The Māmbaḷḷi plate—the one published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume IX—is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters and in the Tamiḷ language. It is dated in the 149th year of the Kollam era, and records that on a Sunday corresponding to the Aśvati nakṣatra in the month Vṛiśchika, when the Jupiter stood in the Tulā rāśi, one Umaiyaṁmai of Tirukkalayapuram set up an image in the temple at Ayirūr. The English equivalent of the date was calculated by Prof. Kielhorn and found to correspond to Monday, the 10th November, A.D. 973.

The two inscriptions edited below are engraved on the base of the *śurru-maṇḍapa* of the Viṣṇu temple in the Śrivaishṇava *pāḍal-peṇṇa-sthalam* of Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr. This village is so situated that it is not easily accessible even during the summer season when the harvest is over, and more so during the winter season. There is no public road or pathway leading to it and one has to walk over the bunds of the fields to reach it. The inscriptions are in a very damaged condition due to exposure to the sun's heat. Both of them are unfortunately undated; one of them,—A,—records the gift of land made by Śrīvallaṇḡōdai to the god of the temple at Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr, for food-offering and other purposes; while, the other,—B,—registers a similar grant made for a similar purpose by the same king, to the Tiruvāyambāḍi (the temple of Kṛiṣṇa). These two records, therefore, practically add nothing to the history of this king, but they are certainly important in that they establish the genuineness of the Māmbaḷḷi-plate.

A

This inscription is written in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters and in the Tamiḷ language. The alphabet resembles very much that of the Māmbaḷḷi plate and therefore needs no special remarks. The epigraph records that Śrīvallaṇḡōdai, the governor of Vēṇāḍu made a grant of land to the god at Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr; from the income of which the following expenditure had to be met:—

- (i) two *nāḷis* of rice to be spent on [something which is not clear; the stone is here damaged.]
- (ii) three *nāḷis* of rice for the *Śrībālī*. After this, the stone is once again badly broken and the writing on it cannot be deciphered. Evidently the rest of the inscription seems to prohibit the *ūrāḷars* &c., from interfering with this item of expenditure; and if they did, they were made subject to a fine of some sum of gold,⁽¹⁾ (here the stone is damaged), to the god in the temple and twenty-five *kaḷañjus* and five *kāṇams* to the then ruling king. This expenditure should be supervised by 'the three-hundred of the Naṇṇulaināḍu.' Further fines for remissness on the part of some one (who it is, it is impossible to find from the record) in performing these duties is next mentioned; if the duties were not

(1) Perhaps 15 *kaḷañjus* and 5 *kāṇams* of gold.

performed for a period of five days, the delinquent should pay double the amount that would have been spent during those days; if however the lapse of duty extended to ten days, he would be made liable to pay a fine of sixty *kalāñjus* of gold. Next comes a mutilated portion of the record, which is unintelligible. Lastly, it is stated that all those who do harm to this charity would be subjected to the *Mūlikkola-kkachcham*.

Text.(1)

1. [ஹுவூ ஹீ] [||*] திருவண்மணீர்பட்டாரகர்க்கு வேணுடை(2) ஸ்ரீவல்ல வங்கோதை செ[ன்ன]டைக்கமைச்ச பூமியாவது [||*]-
2. [||*] க[ர] விந்நனா[ர்] கரி நூற்றுக்கலமும் [||*] பரவனாகரி யிருபத்[த]தங்- கலமும் [||*] த[ப்ப]றலில் (?) உன்னதன்வைப்பு-
3. யிருபத்[த]தங்கலம் [||*] யிந்திரனீலன் கரியில் விலைக்கு கொண்ட சான்றார் நெல் ஒன்பதி[ன]ழிப்-
4. பறையாலறுபது பறை [||*] பு[ல] . வளைச்சேரியி...ள்ளுடைக் [க]ண்ட . வி.....
5. நின்னுயிருநாழி அரிதி[ச]வலிக்கு முக்[கா]லு முந்நாழி அரிப[வி]மி..... க்க.....பன்னு.....அரி [||*]-
6. யிப்பரிவெ.....படாலத்தோடொத்திருப்ப[து].... ஆக்கக்கடவியர் பாட்ட மாளர் [||*] ஸ்ரீவல்லவங் கோதை-
7. யிவ்வறுநாழி அரிக்கு அமைச்சபூமி [நாடோ?] கொ...ண (or த)...னா கரியும் பரவனாகரியும் உன்னதன்வைப்பும் யிந்திரனீலன் கரியா.....
8. ச்சேரி அவரள.....கு கைகொண்ட சான்றார் நெல் ஒன்பதினாழிப் பறையால் [ல]றுபது பறையும் யிவ்வறுநாழி அமைக்க.....
9. ச்சபூமி யி[ச்]செலவினுமி.....தம்ப.... நயப்பெறார் ஊராளனும் பொதுவாள ...யும்.....பெருமானடிசுளர்க்கு அ[ன்று].....ப்ப.....
10. டிது...னுனா...ககோவிந்நிருபத்தைங்கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவிது ஊராளரு...யய(?) கழைஞ்சை அஞ்சுகாணம் [பொன்]தண்டப்படகட.....
11. ச்செலவு நன்றுழை நாவொழுமவர் முந்நூற்றுவரும் கண்டு செலுத்தக்கட வியர் [||*]...ண்ட...கொ...அஞ்சு நாள் முட்டிக்கில் முட்ட[டி]டி செலுத் தக்கட[வி]-
12. யன் [||*] பத்துநாள் முட்டிக்கிலறுபது கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப் படுவிது [||*] சென்ற செலவு.....டு[ம்]...ட்ட.....[வி வ?] சத்துங்கொன்று (?) நீக்கி [பொன்] செலுத்தக் கடவியர் யிச்செ-
13. லவு எவ்வகைபட்டோரு [ம்*] விரோதிக்கில் முழிக்களக்கச்சம் [||*].

(1) From the paper impressions of the inscription.

(2) Read வேணுடை.

Translation.

Line 1. Be it well ! Prosperity ! The lands set apart by Śrīvallavaṅgōdai, the governor of Vēṇādu for the temple of the Bhaṭṭāraka at Tiruvaṇṇāḍūr are :—

Lines 2-4. The land (belonging to) Gōvinnaṇṇār (producing) a hundred *kalams* (of paddy) The Paravaṇṇār, twenty *kalams*. The *vaippu* (land) belonging to (or known as) the Uṇṇataṇ of Tapparal, twenty-five *kalams*. From the land purchased by the Śāṇṇār out of the (plot known as) Indranilaṇkari, sixty *paraīs* of nine *nālis* (each). In the Pula...vaḷaichēbēri

Lines 5-8. Three *nālis* of rice for the *śrībal* (to be offered) three times a day The tenants (*pāṭṭam-ālar*, in Mod. Mal. *Pattalis*) shall make up (the required quantity of paddy?). The lands set up by Śrīvallavaṅgōdai for these six *nālis* of rice are : Gōvinnaṇṇār, Paravaṇṇār, Uṇṇataṇ-vaippu, from Indranilaṇkari.....the sixty *paraīs* of paddy each of nine *nālis* (capacity) from Śāṇṇār who took.....

Lines 9-13. (This portion which is damaged in many places seems to record that the) Ūrālars and Poduvāls are prohibited from interfering with the income set apart for the above purpose. If they did, they were to pay to the then ruling king a fine of.....Gōvinnaṇṇār shall pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḷaṇṇus* of gold and the *ūrālars* shall pay a fine each of... *kaḷaṇṇus* and five *kāṇams* of gold. The three hundred of the Naṇṇulaināḍu shall supervise the income (collect) and pay it (to the temple) If the purpose (for which the arrangement was made) falls in arrears for five days, the person who is in remissness shall be obliged to pay twice his dues. If, however, it falls in arrears for ten days, he shall be subjected to a fine of twenty *kaḷaṇṇus* of gold..... whoever does injury to this item of expenditure will come under the operation of the Mūḷikkala-kkachecham.

B

The following inscription is engraved on the outside base of the *śurru-maṇḍapam* of the same temple. It is also written in the Vaṭṭeluttu characters and in the Tamil language and is much more damaged than A. In this document arrangements similar to those in A are also made in connection with the Tiruvāyambāḍi temple. At present the Tiruvāyambāḍi temple, which is situated on the north-west of the chief temple of Vishṇu in Tiruvaṇṇāḍūr, is completely ruined and is marked by a heap of well-dressed and moulded stones which belonged to the ruined temple.

Text.

1. ஸ்ரீவல்லி ஸ்ரீ[||*] திருவாயம்பாடிக்கு வேணுமடைய ஸ்ரீவல்லவங்கோதைச் சென்னடைக்கமைஞ்ச(1) பூமியா [வோ?] பட்ட[டி] யர்கரி[யு]ம் [பு]றயும் வெரு [தை or ணை]யும் புகாட்டுகு (?).....க்கி.....
2. அயங்கல [முமாக]ழிய ஓ...நிலம்நூ (?) நுகலமும் வெண்பாலை வயலில் அயங்கலமும் க...ணுறத்தியும்.....
3. டி[ப]...நூ...பு...ன்னயால்...நி...த்த...நாழியால் [அநுநூற்].....
4. திருவாயம்பாடி செ...வர் வேணுமடைய [ஸ்ரீவல்லவங்கோதை]...நிலக்கும் ...இச்செலவு முட்டிக்கில் முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியர் ம...-

(1) Read அமைச்ச.

5. லும்...முட்டு...க்கு மவ...கழஞ்சு தண்டப்படுவிது...[மு] ந[ா]டு[வா]
முமவர[ள்]க்கு இருபத்தைய் கழஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவிது [||*]
ஊர்க்கா(?) பந்திரு.....
6. ...அம்முந்நூற்றுவரும் கண்டு செலுத்தக்கடவிர் [||*] இச்செலவினு விரோ-
திக்குமவன் முழிக்களக்கச்சம் [||*] ஷுஷி ஸ்ரீ[||*].

Translation.

Line 1. Be it well! Prosperity! The lands that were set apart for the temple of Tiruvāyambāḍi (Kṛiṣṇa's) by Śrīvallavaṅḡḍai governor of Vēṇāḍu are:—the Paṭṭiyarkari,..... five *kalams*,.....hundred *kalams*, Venpālaivayal, five *kalams*,.....were set apart for the temple of Tiruvāyambāḍi by Śrīvallavaṅḡḍai, governor of Vēṇāḍu.....If by the negligence of any, this item of expenditure is stopped, that person shall pay double the amount due from him.....shall be liable to the fine of.....*kaḷaṇṇu*.....and shall pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḷaṇṇus* of gold to the three hundred of Nanṇulaināḍu..... Those three hundred shall supervise this charity and get it duly performed. He that does injury to this expenditure shall come under the operation of the Mūḷikkāḷa-kkachcham.

No. 5. - AN INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA VĪRA KĒRAĻA VARMAN : No. 671.

The inscription edited below is found in the temple of Gaṇapatinaḍai at Quilon. It is written in four sections in the Grantha or early Malayāḷam characters and is in a good state of preservation. It belongs to the reign of a king called Jayasimha *alias* Virakēraḷavarman and is dated the Kollam year 671. In this year, in the solar month Mithuna, when Jupiter stood in the Tūlārāśi, in the Vṛiśchika lagna and in the nakshatra Anurāḍha, the ascetic Nityaprajñamuni performed the abhishēka to the god Gōvinda in Nētrapura, after renovating the temple. It is stated at the end of the record that the king of Kēraḷa made arrangements for the daily worship of the god Gōvinda at the command of the lord of Kōlamba.

From the inscriptions of Ravivarman Saṁgrāmadhira (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV and of this Series, Vol. II), it is found that the name of his father was also Jayasimha *alias* Virakēraḷavarman; that the 33rd year of his age corresponded to the year A.D. 1299-1300. So, the year of his birth should be A.D. 1267. Even granting that Ravivarman was his first born child and that he was born to him at such an early age as 20, Jayasimha Virakēraḷa, the father of Ravivarman should have flourished from A.D. 1247. But the king of our record who bears the same name is at least 250 years later than the first one. The Kēraḷa kingdom said to have been conquered by Ravivarman Saṁgrāmadhira seems to have been still in the possession of his descendant Jayasimha Virakēraḷavarman, the prince mentioned in the present inscription.

The Hon. Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai has been good enough to supply me with the following note regarding the date :—"Kollam 671, Solar month Mithuna, Jupiter in Tūlārāśi, lagna Vṛiśchika and nakshatra Anurāḍha = A.D. 1496, Wednesday, June 22, on which day Anurāḍha nakshatra ended about 24 *ghaṭikas* after mean-sunrise. The day was the 26th of Mithuna month and the mean longitude of Jupiter on that day was 209 degrees which is the last degree of Tūlārāśi. No week-day being given in the inscription, the details cannot be verified by means of the week-day : but the data as to the position of Jupiter and the nakshatra afford a means of check."

No. 51 of 1084.

Section I

1. हरि श्री [1*]
2. मंगलं
3. भवतु [1*]

Section II

4. स्वस्त्यस्तु जयसिंहस्य
5. वीरकेरळवर्मणः
6. तथा तद्वंशजानाञ्च
7. राज्यस्य नगरस्य च

Section III

8. कोळंबे पुनरेकसप्ततियुते संवत्सरे षट् शते
9. नित्यप्रब्रमुनिस्थिते[S*]थ मिथुने भानौ तुलायां गुरौ ।

10. गोविन्दस् वृषभे[ऽ*]भ्यषेचयदनूराधे मुहूर्ते शुभे
 11. श्रीमन्नेत्रपुरे[ऽ*]वत्तात्स नवतां प्राप्ते चिरन्तो विशुः ॥

Section IV

12. श्रीमन्नेत्रपुरेशस्य
 13. पूजार्थं केरळेश्वरः
 14. शर्मणा कल्पयामास
 15. कोळवेशस्य कल्पनाम् ॥

Section V

16. शुभ-
 17. मस्तु

Translation.

Hari Śrī! Be it auspicious!

May it be well with Jayasimha *alias* Virakēraḷavarman; and so to his descendants, kingdom and city.

In the year 671 of the Kollam era, when the sun was in the Mithunarāśi and Jupiter in the Tularāśi, at the auspicious moment of Anurādhā, during (the ascendancy of Vṛishabha) the sage Nityaprajña bathed Gōvinda. May the lord (Gōvinda) protect us long in the prosperous Nētrapura whose temple has been renewed.

For the purpose of conducting the daily *pūjas*, &c., the lord of the prosperous Nētrapura, the king of Kēraḷa did (*i.e.* obeyed) with pleasure, the command of the lord of Kōḷamba.

May it be prosperous!

Text. (1)

(West).

1. ஸ்ரீஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ[11*]
2. நாலாயிர-
3. த்தேழுநூற்-
4. றிரண்டு ஸம்-
5. வசுஸாஞ்-
6. செல்லா நின்ற-
7. துலாச்சனி
8. கன்னியில்
9. வியாழம்
10. நின்ற கோல்-
11. லம் எளைய-
12. கூடுந் மியு-
13. நமாஸம்
14. யு சென்ற
15. சனியாட்(ச்)-
16. சையும் பு-
17. ணர்தமும்
18. பெற்ற ஸூய-ல்-
19. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ

(South).

20. கீழ்ப்பேருர் இ-
21. ல்லத்தில் தி (ரூ)
22. பாப்பூர் ஸ்ரீ-
23. ரூ பத்தில் ஸ்ரீ-
24. வீர இரவி இரவி வ-
25. ன்மரான குல-
26. சேகரப் பெருமா[ள்]
27. துலாபுருஷாந-
28. ன் சேய்த மண்ட-
29. பம்பணிசெய்-
30. ப்பிச்ச இரவிவன்-
31. மரான குலசேக-
32. ரப் பெருமாந்-
33. டைய கெட்டி-
34. ணத்தவராய
35. இரையும் குட்-
36. டி அம்மையும்
37. இரையும் குட்டி
38. அம்மையும் மண்-
39. டபம் கெட்டிச்சது.

(1) From impressions prepared under my supervision.

No. 6.—AN INSCRIPTION OF VIRA RAVI RAVIVARMAN AT TRIVANDRAM.
KALI 4702=KOLLAM 776.

We have already learnt from the three inscriptions published in Volume I, pp. 176-180 of this Series, of the existence of a king of Vēṇāḍu named Vira Ravi Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkhara-pperumāḷ of the Kīḷappērūr Illam and the Tiruppāppūr Svarūpam, that he flourished in the first decades of the seventeenth century A. D., that he had two younger brothers named Āḍityavarman and Rāmavarman, that he married two wives named Irāiyumakkuṭṭiyammai and Iḷaiya-Irāiyumakkuṭṭiyammai, and had perhaps a sister or some other important female relation; one of these inscriptions gives also the names of the consorts of the brothers of the king; in these inscriptions the king is stated to have performed the sixteen great gifts (*mahādānas*) beginning with the *tulāpuruṣa-mahādāna*, and that he was a devotee of the god Padmanābhasvāmin at Trivandram; his mother was Umaiyammai, born in the Rōhiṇī nakshatra, while the king himself is said to have been born in the Jyēsthā nakshatra; he seems to have made Trivandram his residential quarters. This king and practically the whole of his family have spent large sums of money on the extensive repairs to the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruvāṭṭāru; Vira Ravi Ravivarman himself has repaired almost the whole of the temple of Virakēḷāṣvara at Muttaḷakkuṇṇichchi.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the two faces of the *tulābhāra-kkal* in the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandram and is in a good state of preservation. The alphabet in which it is written is Tamil; some Saṅskṛit words which occur in the document, *e.g.*, *svasti śrī* in l. 1. *saṁvatsaram* in l. 5, *sūrya-grahaṇattu* in ll. 18-19, *svarūpa* in ll. 22-23 and *dāna* in l. 27, are written in the Grantha alphabet. The record is dated the four thousand, seven hundred and second year of the Kali era which corresponded with the year 776 of the Kollam era; when Saturn stood in the Tulā-rāśi and Jupiter in the Kanyā-rāśi, on Saturday, the 12th of the (solar) month Mithuna and nakshatra Punarvasu, when there occurred a solar eclipse, on this sacred occasion, the king Vira Ravi Ravivarman performed the *tulāpuruṣa* ceremony, that is, the ceremony of weighing oneself against gold and distributing the gold among brahmanas. The two wives of the king built a *manḍapa* in commemoration of this important event in the life of their husband.

In the table of eclipses of the sun appended to Messrs. Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*, we find that a total eclipse of the sun had occurred on the 20th of June, 1601 A.D., which is equivalent to Kollam 776. So, the date of our inscription should be the 20th June 1601. In Mr. Nāgamayyā's *Travancore State Manual* it is stated that "Śrī Vira Ravi Ravivarman of Jayasimhanāḍu reigned in Travancore from Vriśchikam 771 to Makaram 782 M.E. (A.D. 1595-1607)." Mr. Ayyā informs us that there are several documents in the chronicles of the Padmanābhasvāmin temple from which, as also from inscriptions, he seems to have made out the length of the period of the reign of the king. If the information supplied by Mr. Nāgamayyā is correct, the *tulābhāra* ceremony referred to in our inscription should have taken place five years after the accession of the king. The inscription under notice bears out the statement that Vira Ravi Ravivarman performed the sixteen *mahādānas*—at least so far as the *tulāpuruṣa* is concerned. It is not known why Mr. Nāgamayyā calls this king a member of the Jayasimhanāḍu family, while all the inscriptions distinctly refer to him as a member of the Kīḷappērūr Illam and of the Tiruppāppūr family. Perhaps the temple documents referred to by him state so.

Translation.

Be it well ! Prosperity ! In the year four thousand, seven hundred and two (current), when Saturn was in the Tulā (rāśi), Jupiter in the Kanyā (rāśi), in the Kollam year 776, on a Saturday which was the 12th of the month Mithuna and (nakshatra) Punarvasu, when there occurred an eclipse of the sun, the (king) Vira Ravi Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ of the Kilappērūr Illam (house) and belonging to the Tiruppāppūr Svarūpam (family) weighed himself against gold ; (in commemoration of this event), the *maṇḍapa* in which the *tulāpurusha-mahādāna* was given away (to Brāhmaṇas), was built by the wives (*keṭṭinattavar*) Iraiymakkuṭṭiyammai and (Iḷaya) Iraiymakkuṭṭiyammai. These built the *maṇḍapa*.

No. 7.—SOME INSCRIPTIONS OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMA TIRUVADĪ.

The Cochin plates of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi of Malabar were long known to scholars and have afforded ample scope for learned discussions ever since they were published by Dr. Gundert. Even before they were edited by him, there were some editions of it that are not well-known to the scholarly public. Dr. Burnell informs us, "The existence of this grant has long been known. A. Moens (a Dutch Governor of Cochin) first gave an account of it (in Busching's Magazine) in the last century (i.e., 18th). A little later on followed the account by Anquetil Duperron. At the beginning of this (19th) century F.W. Ellis (a Madras Civilian and the real founder of Dravidian Comparative Philology) translated them in a most scholarly manner; but his sudden death in 1819 prevented the publication of his essay which remained unknown till 1844, when Sir Walter Elliot discovered and printed it with an excellent facsimile in Vol. XIII, part ii of the Madras Literary Society's Journal." Besides these editions, it has got a Hebrew translation of it, which Dr. Gundert considers to be only a hundred years old (in his time, but at the present time about 150 years). The learned remarks of Dr. Gundert about this version run thus. "The Hebrew translator seems neither to have understood much of the original Tamil nor to have cared about rendering it faithfully." A translation of the Hebrew version in English is given by Dr. Gundert in Vol. XIII, part ii of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. In quite recent times Dr. Hultzsch gave his version of this well-known record in Vol. III of the *Epigraphia Indica*; in translating it he has followed closely Mr. Ellis; he has made no attempt at fixing the age of the document either on the palæographic or other grounds, nor are his edition and translation free from errors.

The dates for this king arrived at by the early editors ranged between A.D. 168 to 774; Kukkil Kelu Nayar asserted that it belonged to 169, Burnell to 774 while Ellis stated that it was 1500 years old, that is, the beginning of the 4th century.

Though a large number of inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi had been gathered from different parts of Travancore, not one of these contained the necessary astronomical data for calculating the date. The most notable discovery, since Dr. Hultzsch's edition of the Cochin plates of this king, is that of a single copper-plate, bearing on it a complete inscription recording a gift by a petty prince to the temple at Tirunelli. It is dated in the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarman. It was first discovered by Mr. L. A. Cammiade, B.A., B.L., Bar-at-Law, Presidency Magistrate, Madras, several years ago and he very kindly lent it to me for examination. This plate contained a complete set of astronomical details which made the calculation of its equivalent and verification possible. The date is given there as the thirty-fifth year opposite the sixth which was opposite to the second year of the reign of the king; that is, $2\text{nd} + 6\text{th} + 35\text{th} = 43\text{rd}$ year; in that year the gift was made on a Wednesday, the eighth (expired) day of the solar month Mīna and nakshatra Uttara Phalguni, when Jupiter stood in the Tulā rāśi. The date was calculated for me by the Hon. Dewan Bahadur Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai: he writes "I took the period from A.D. 949 to 1329 (380 years) and find only one year in which 9th Mīna was a Wednesday, when Jupiter was in Tulā and moon in Uttara-Phalguni (*ettu senra* is, I believe, 9th and not 8th). The year in question is A. D. 1020-21, when 9th Mīna was Wednesday, 1st March, 1021 A.D., on which day Jupiter was in Tulā (longitude about 186° Tulā), and the moon was in nakshatra Uttara-Phalguni, whose ending moment was $57\frac{1}{2}$ ghṛṇikas after mean sunrise. In A.D. 1115-16,

the next most likely year, 8th Mina was A. D. 1116. I do not find any other year in the period of four centuries (A. D. 950 to 1350) when 8th or 9th Mina was a Wednesday and when Jupiter stood in Tulā rāśi and the moon in *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalguni." This gives us A. D. 978 as the initial year of the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman.

In the light of the date-calculation of this record, it has become easy to fix the exact dates of the other inscriptions which are edited in this article.

The inscriptions edited below have been gathered from Tirukkākkarai, in North Travancore; Peruneyil and Tirukkaḍittānam near Chaṅganāśēri and Mulikkalam near Ālvāy. We also know that during the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarman grants were made to the temple at Tirunelli. From the situation of these places one can say that the kingdom of Bhāskara Ravivarman should have extended from at least Wynaad in the north to Chaṅganāśēri in the south, a distance of 1°56' and therefore comprised the whole of the Malayalam country consisting of the British Malabar Districts, the Cochin State and more than half at least of the present State of Travancore. He can therefore be no petty chieftain but might be rightly considered to be a suzerain lord of the Malaināḍu. This surmise is borne out by the fact that there ruled under him as Provincial Governors a number of minor chiefs, Nāḍuvājis, such as those of the Puraikilānāḍu, Kuṃpōraināḍu, Venṇolināḍu, Vēṇāḍu and Naṇṇulaināḍu. In somewhat later times these subordinate princes appear to have become independent probably because the central Government disappeared for reasons not known at present; they became the *rājās* of the well-known later kingdoms of Vadakkīṅkūṟu, Tekkiṅkūṟu, Travancore, &c. Thus there seems to be some reason for the faith held by all the present day Malabar princes that they are all representatives of a Chēramāṇ Perumāḷ, for, they all were serving the same sovereign; whether they were lineal descendants of the Chēramāṇ Perumāḷ or not we cannot vouchsafe for.

From the fact that Bhāskara Ravivarman commenced his reign in A.D. 978 and ruled for at least 58 years, that is, till A.D. 1036, it is certain that he was the contemporary of the Chōḷa kings Rājārāja I and his son Rājēndrachōḷa, who ruled from A.D. 985-1014 and A.D. 1014-1046 respectively. Rājārāja mentions in a large number of his Tanjore inscriptions that he conquered the Chēramāṇ of Malaināḍu, whereas Rājēndra Chōḷa claims to have conquered the Chēra and taken several ancient islands belonging to him; one of these was Śāntimat-tivu which was strongly fortified and on this account was chosen by Parśurāma for depositing the highly praised golden crown, and the crown and the necklace, the heirlooms of the Chēra kings. Very likely Rājārāja I conquered Bhāskara Ravivarman, whom Rājēndrachōḷa I must have also defeated and plundered him of his heirlooms. Since the latest date hitherto known of Bhāskara Ravivarman is his 58th year corresponding to A.D. 1036, it may be surmised that he might have died in the war with the king Rājēndrachōḷa and his kingdom broken up into the petty principalities of Vaḍakkīṅkūṟu, Tekkiṅkūṟu, Vēṇāḍu, &c., and these might have acknowledged the supremacy of the conqueror and might therefore have been suffered to rule over their principalities as vassals. No doubt, the above surmise is put forward as a mere hypothesis and the correctness or otherwise of it has to be determined by further researches.

Concerning the period of accession of the king Bhāskara Ravivarman in the year A.D. 978-9, Mr. Swamikannu Pillai writes thus:—"It follows from the dates of the Tirunelli plate, No. II and that of No. 102 of 1084 of the Travancore Collection that the reign must have commenced in or before October and after April, in other words, that the regnal years changed numbers in this interval; so that if April 1016 was at the end of the 38th year and March 1021 was at the end of the 43rd year, October 1021 may have been in the beginning of the 44th year and deducting 21 from either side we have October 1000 A.D. = beginning of the 23rd year."

A.—TIRUKKAḌITTĀNAM INSCRIPTION NO. I OF THE REIGN OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The subjoined inscription of Bhāskara Ravivarman is engraved upon the west and south bases of the central shrine of the Vishnu temple at Tirukkaḍittānam, a village situated 2 miles east of Changanāśēri, the headquarters of the Tālūka of the same name in the Kōṭṭayam Division of the Travancore State. Tirukkaḍittānam is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* or *pāḍalperṛa* Vaishnava-kshētras in the Malaināḍu; the praises of the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam have been sung by Nammālṭvār who lived, according to the astronomical calculations of the Hon. Mr. L.D. Swamikannu Pillai, in A.D. 798. Consequently the temple existed from at least the 8th century of the Christian era. The temple has several inscriptions on its walls, a large number of which belong to the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman and are edited in this paper. It is built in the fashion of the Malabar temples, namely, with a circular central shrine surrounded by a raised rectangular covered walk with door-ways pierced in it on the four directions. The central shrine in this temple is a doubled roofed one and its walls bear fairly well-preserved paintings of a somewhat later period. The inscription under notice is dated the twelfth year opposite to the second of the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman that is, A.D. 992; it records that Gōvarddhana Mārttāṇḍan, the Governor of Vēṇāḍu granted some taxes (?) to the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam. It is written in the **Vatteḷuttu** characters and in the **Tamiḷ** language. The chieftain of Vēṇāḍu mentioned herein was a vassal of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi and has figured as a signatory in the Tirunelli grant published in the *Indian Antiquary*. The compound word Vēṇāḍu has been split up into **vēḷam** and **nāḍu** by the late Mr. Sundaram Pillai and interpreted by him as the country abounding in elephants. I have shown elsewhere that Vēṇāḍu is the country of the *Vēḷs* or the chieftains, in this instance, of the Āy dynasty and has nothing to do either grammatically or even etymologically with elephants. The inscription is incomplete and therefore it is difficult to make out its exact sense.

Text.

1. ஸுவதி ஸ்ரீ[※] கோப்பாக்கரநிரவிவர்மர்திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாரின்ற யாண்டி
ரண்டாமாண்டைக்கெதிர் ப[ந்]திராமாண்டு [※] வேண்டுடைய கோவர்தன[ம்] மார்த்தாண்
டன் அமைச்ச நன்றுழைநாடு வாழ்ந்து திருக்கடித்தானத்தால் நாட்டினுக்கு ஆட்டுங்கொள்
ளும் [உ]டம்பாட்டால் வாழ்க்கை [அ]கப்ப . இடங்கழியால் பன்திருக்கலர் நெல் [முக்க]ல்
[வரு?] கொள்ளு அமைச்ச மிக்கது.

(INCOMPLETE).

Abstract of Contents.

While the twelfth year opposite to the second of (the reign of) the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi was current, Gōvarddhana Mārttāṇḍan who had (1) (the chieftainship of) the Vēṇāḍu, ruling (also) the Nanṇulaināḍu established.....with twelve *kalams* of paddy as measured by the *eḍāṅgaḷi* (a measure) which was collected from the Tirukkaḍittānam district as the tax due (to Gōvarddhana Mārttāṇḍan) for administering the country (2); the balance.....

(1) The word *amaichchu* occurring after the name of the chieftain may be taken to mean simply 'having set up or established' or, with some probability, as describing him as a minister of Bhāskara Ravivarman and in that capacity as having been given the governorship of the Nanṇulaināḍu.

(2) The word *vēḷkkai* appears to bear some relation to the phrase *nāḍu-vēḷuginra* which means '(who) makes the country prosper (by his reign)'; *vēḷkkai* is perhaps the tax due to the king who affords protection to or *nāḍu vēḷvikkinraḍu* and is used here in this sense.

B. PERUNEYIL INSCRIPTION OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The inscription edited below is engraved upon the base of the central shrine of the temple, at Peruneyil, a suburb of Changuarāṣēri. It is an unfinished record written in the **Vaṭṭeḷuttu** characters and is dated the 2nd+12th, that is, the 14th year of an unmentioned king. From the fact that the year 12th is opposite to the second, which opposition to the second year being a special feature of the inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman, as also from the fact that there are found in the same temple inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman, the inscription under consideration is also taken to belong to the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman.

Some arrangements are said to have been made by the townsmen of Peruneydalūr, the *poduvāls*, the *sabha* of the village of Kilakkulaṅgarai, Nārāyaṇa Śrīdharan of Pandāvūr and the Venadu chief who was governing also the Nanraulaināḍu; since the inscription is unfinished, nothing regarding the arrangements could be said. This meeting is said to have taken place when Jupiter stood in the Makara rāṣi, on the 20th (expired) of the solar month Mīna, which was a Sunday and the nakshatra Punarvasu.

Text.

1. [ஹதீ] [12] இரண்டாமாண்டைக்கெதிர் (ர) பந்திராமாண்டை மகரத்-
தில் விபாபூந்நெற் மீனஞாயிறு இருபது சென்ற ஞாயிறுண்ட புணர் [த்த*]-
த்தினள் பெருநெய்தலுரும் பொதுவாளும்கீழ்-
2. க்குளங்ஊரைத்தபையும் பந்தரூர் நாராயணஞ்சிரீதரனும் நன்றுமுநாடுவா
[மு]ன்ற வேனுமெடய.

(UNFINISHED).

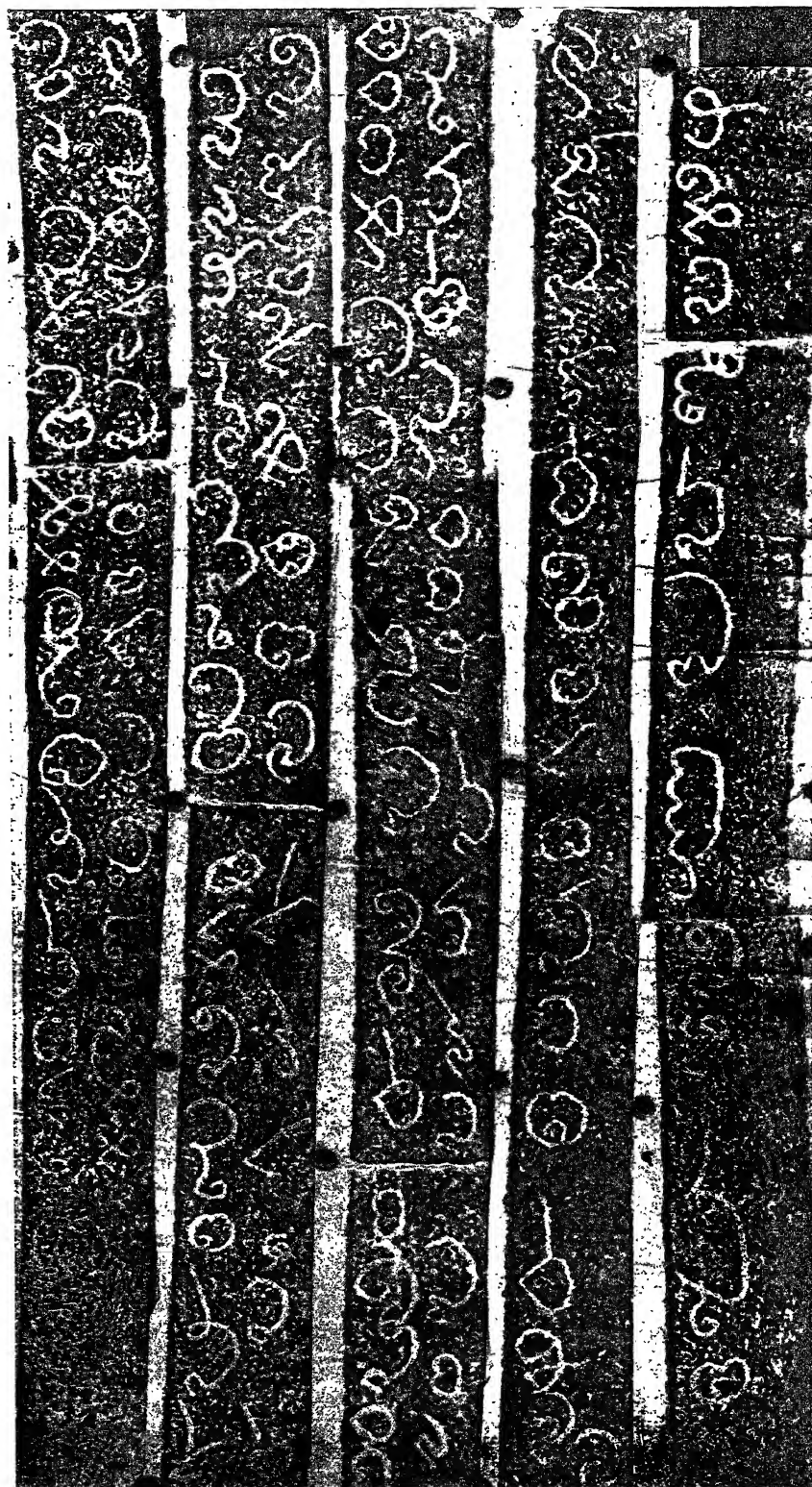
Translation.

Be it well! Prosperity! In the twelfth year opposite to the second, when Jupiter stood in the Makara (rāṣi), in the (solar) month of Mīna, on the twentieth day (expired, that is, the 21st), on the Punarvasu nakshatra, the townsmen of Peruneydalūr, the Poduvāls, the *sabha* of Kilakkulaṅgarai, Nārāyaṇa Śrīdharan of Pandāvūr.....governor of Vēnāḍu administering the Nanraulaināḍu.....

C.—TIRUKKADITTĀNAM INSCRIPTION NO. II OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

This inscription is engraved upon the north and west walls of the central shrine of the Vishnu temple at Tirukkadittānam and is written in the **Vaṭṭeḷuttu** alphabet and the **Tamil** language. It belongs, according to the reading of the inscription, to the **thirteenth year** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarman**. A point worthy of note in the inscriptions of this king is that all of them are dated in some years **opposite the second**. The second year has been obviously omitted here through inadvertence; for, on working up the astronomical details they are found to agree actually only with the fifteenth year. Regarding the date Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai writes thus: "No. 89 of 1086 (of the Travancore Collection). 13th year: Jupiter in Rishabha, Tulā month. Of the years A. D. 990, 991 and 992 which correspond to the 13th, 14th and 15th regnal years in this series, only A. D. 992, Tulā month, answers the description, 'Jupiter in Rishabha'. I suspect that '*iravāḍam-āṇḍaikk-edir*' which is present in all the other Bhāskara Ravivarman dates has been left out in this case and that the regnal year is really the 15th." It records the

PERUNEVIL INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. B.



A. GOPINATHA RAO.

SCAI F. O. 2.

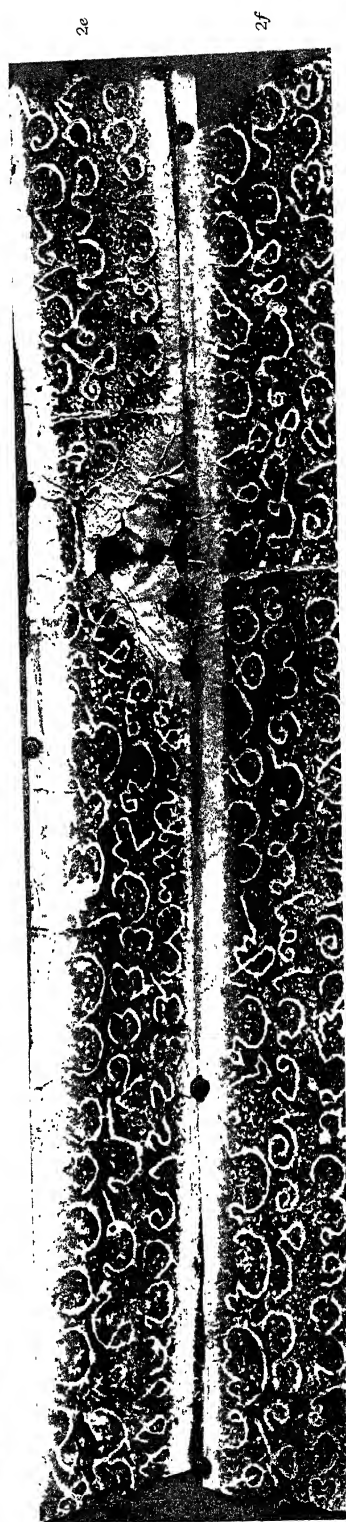
Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co, Madras.

following arrangements resolved upon in the meeting of the townsmen (*ūrār*), the *paruḍaiyārs* and the *poduvāḷs* held in the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam ;

- (a) The chief townsmen (*ūrāḷar*) and the *paruḍaiyār* (members of the council, *sabhā*, *parishad*) were prohibited from stopping the amount expended on the food-offerings to be made to the god, in burning the perpetual lamp, for feeding *brāhmaṇas* and in the recitation of the *Mahābhārata*, by deterring the tenants holding the lands set apart for these purposes from paying the rents to the temple and the *ūrāḷar* &c., were also prohibited from receiving the rents themselves.
- (b) They were further prohibited from undertaking to pay the amounts by collecting the rent from the tenants, or to hold the tenancy themselves or to receive bribes in connection with the appointment of the officiating priests and the reader and expounder of the *Mahābhārata*.
- (c) They should not allow the appointment of the officiating priests (*śānti śeyyum-avargal*, *pūjāris*) to last more than three years at a time.
- (d) These *ūrāḷar* and the *paruḍaiyārs* who held at the time of the meeting of the *ūrāḷars* &c. mentioned in this record the lands meant for the food-offerings and for the feeding of *brāhmaṇas* should measure and deliver in the temple precincts the paddy due from them before the Tiruvōṇam (*Śravaṇa nakshatra*) day in the month of Iḍavam : those who hold the lands meant for the perpetual lamps should deliver one half of their dues on the Chitrai-vishu day and the other half on the Aippigai-vishu day. If the delivery is delayed for three days, they should pay double their dues ; if the payment is delayed for longer periods, they should not merely be obliged to recoup all the dues but also lose their tenancy.
- (e) The income from those items that are set apart for the lamps and food-offering ; or for the feeding of *brāhmaṇas* and the lamps ; or for food-offering and feeding of the *brāhmaṇas* or for the recitation of the *Mahābhārata* should not be appropriated to or spent upon one another, but must be expended only for those purposes for which they are intended.
- (f) The officiating priests should not be permitted to hold the tenancy of the lands set apart for any of the purposes detailed above or occupy the position of a *paruḍaiyār*.....
- (g)
- (h) Those that actively help in obstructing the above arrangements or advising others to do so should be liable to a fine of twelve *kaḷāṇḷus* and five *kāṇams* of gold to the *Sabha* ; in addition to this they should pay a fine of the same value to the god of the temple and to the then reigning king. The abettors in such illegal acts as those above mentioned should also pay a similar fine.
- (i) The rent from lands set apart for burning lamps during the month *Vṛiśchika* (*Kārttigai*) should deliver the ghee for that purpose before the *saṅkrānti* of that month : there need be no sureties demanded for the punctual performance of the contract. But, if the lamp was allowed to remain unlit on account of the remissness of the persons responsible for the supply of the ghee, they should pay down a fine of ten *kāṇams* of gold to the king.

Elsewhere it has been pointed out that *Śāstras*, *Purāṇas* and *Itihāsas* are required by the *āgamas* to be recited in temples every day and that for this arrangements were generally made either by the king or by private donors,

TIRUKKADITTANAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. C.



காணம் பொன்றண்டப்படக்கடவியர் [||*] பாடுதாந்நிமவரையுமவருமி
தண்டமே படக்கடவியர் [||*] சூமியோடமைஞ்ஞ விரிச்சுகவிளக்கு செலுத்து
மவர் சங்கிராந்தி நாளே நெய்-

7. தெகியட்டக் கடவியர் [||*] நெய்க்கு பணையங்கொள்ளக் கடமையில்லை [||*]
விரிச்சுகவிளக்கு முட்டிமவர் அன்றாடு கோயில்க்கு பத்துகாணம் பொன்
றண்டம் படக்கடவியர் [||*] ஸ்ரீ.

Translation.

Line 1. Be it well! Prosperity! In the meeting of the townsmen, the *paraḍaiyār* and the *poduvāls* held with harmony in the temple of Tirukkaḍittāṇam, in the seventh year opposite the sixth of (the reign of) Bhāskara Ravivarman, when Jupiter was in Rishabha and (the solar) month Tūlā, the following was the business transacted.

Line 2. No one shall stop the expenditure (of money) on the food-offering to be made to the Bhaṭṭāraka (god), the perpetual lamp, the feeding of *brāhmaṇas*, and (the reading) of the *Mahābhārata*, for which land has been granted; nor shall the money (due from the lands) be diverted (for other purposes); nor it be embezzled, (or collected), nor the charity be obstructed. The *ūrāḷars* and the *paraḍai* shall (collect and) remit the income (to the temple), but shall not take bribes for (the appointment of) the *Śānti* (-kkārs) and (the reader and expounder of) the *Mahābhārata*. They shall not allow more than three years' tenure of office for the *Śāntikkārs*.

Line 3. The *ūrāḷars* shall (collect from) those who till the land (set apart for the purpose) and measure out before the temple seed-paddy for the rice-offering (to the deity) and the dried paddy for the feeding of the *brāhmaṇas*, before the Śravaṇa nakshatra day in the month of Rishabha. Those (that hold the tenancy of the land meant) for the perpetual lamp shall pay one half (of their dues) on the day of the Chittirai Vishu and the remaining half on the day of the Aippiṣi Vishu.

Line 4. If these payments fall in arrears for three days, those (who are bound to make the payment in due time) shall be subject to pay double the dues. If the time during which the payment of this duty is neglected is too long, they shall pay all their dues and shall also abandon their tenancy of the land. The moneys meant for the (different) items of the lamp, namely, the food-offering, the feeding of *brāhmaṇas* and for the (reading and expounding of the) *Mahābhārata*, shall not be taken and diverted for any other purpose. They should be spent for the very purpose for which they were ear-marked.

Lines 5-6. The places of the *Śāntikkār* and the subordinate offices under him shall not be assumed by the *sthānattār* or the *paraḍaimār* (?). The *paraḍaimār* are prohibited from holding tenancy (of the temple lands) nor should they lease them out; the gold that they are to pay should not be got (illegally) from others (?). Those that do mischief (themselves directly) to this arrangement or (speak to and make others do the same) shall be liable to a fine of twelve *kaḷaṇḱus* and five *kāṇams* of gold to the *bhaṭṭāraka* (the deity). (Besides this) they shall also pay to the then ruling king a fine of twelve *kaḷaṇḱus* and five *kāṇams* of gold. The same fines shall be incurred by those who abet the former. Those that have taken the lease of the land meant for the lamp to be burnt in the month of Vṛiśchikam shall supply the ghee (required for it) on the very day of the *saṅkrānti* (of that month, that is on the day the sun enters the Vṛiśchika rāśi).

Line 7. There is no need for taking security for the supply of the ghee required for the Vṛiśchika lamp. Those that obstruct (the burning of) the Vṛiśchika lamp shall be obliged to pay a fine of ten *kāṇams* of gold to the then reigning sovereign. Śrī.

D.—TIRUKKĀKKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. I OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The following inscription is engraved on the outside east base of the *śurru maṇḍapa* of the Vishnu temple at Tirukkākkarai, one of the thirteen *divyadeśams* of the Malaināḍu. Till quite recently the superstructure of the temple was ruined and lost, the image in the central shrine broken into three pieces and a semblance of *pūjā* maintained in it. This temple is not only sacred to the Śrīvaiṣṇavas but also to all the Malayālis from the Cape Comorin to Gōkarṇam, the reputed boundaries of Kēraḷa: it is the deity of the temple of Tirukkākkarai that is invoked by the latter on their national festival the Ōṇam, and every house, however poor or rich it might be, offers *pūjā* to Him on that holy day. Such an important temple was in utter ruins till a few years ago; by the representations of the Śrīvaiṣṇava pilgrims, of the Svāmi of the Vānamāmalai maṭham and of the Archaeological Department of Travancore, it was taken up for repairs by the Travancore Government; the repairs are almost completed and the reconsecration ceremony is to take place shortly. The small village of Tirukkākkarai is situated at a distance of about two and a half miles from Eḍappalli, the station next to Ernakulam on the Cochin State Railway; the approach to the place is rather difficult, the road leading to it being a narrow way not quite suited for wheeled-traffic; till lately there was no kind of building near the temple to accommodate pilgrims. A small rest house has recently been constructed by the Government for this purpose. Owing to the want of the facilities for transport and accommodation Tirukkākkarai was not so popular with the hundreds of Śrīvaiṣṇava pilgrims who visit Trivandram and are also eager to visit the other *divyadeśams* of the Malaināḍu. If the road inconvenience is also removed, it is firmly believed that the place would become popular with this sect of *brāhmaṇas*.

This is one of the few temples on the West Coast which bears the largest number of lithic records; all of them have been copied and such of those as are of historical importance arranged for publication. The subjoined inscription is written in the **Vatteḷuttu** alphabet and in the **Tamiḷ** language and is dated the **twenty-first year opposite the second** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarmān**: it records certain gifts made to the temple by some private individuals; they were made on the **seventh day of the solar month of Mīrichchigam (Vṛiśchika)** when the Jupiter stood in the **Makara-rāśi**. The equivalent of this date has been calculated by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai who writes about it as follows: "No. 102 of 1084 (of the Travancore Collection) 23rd year: Jupiter in Makara—Vṛiśchika month, 8th day (*ēlu senṇanāl*) A. D. 1000 (Oct.—Nov.) N. B. Had week-day or *nakṣatra* been given, year could have been verified with certainty."

The preservation of the inscription not being good, it is rather difficult to make an accurate transcript and the reading now obtained is not without faults. It seems to record the gift of lands by some private persons for the burning of lamps during the Kārttigai month and for making offerings to the deity. The rice needed for the purpose is required to be supplied in the temple precincts before the midday of the day of Dhanishṭhā *nakṣatra* in the solar month of Vṛiśchika. One half of the rice is set apart to be distributed among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, perhaps those who go there on pilgrimage. The custom of measuring and delivering rice and paddy in a certain specified place in the temple and with the standard measures preserved in the temple is one of the most ancient customs often found recorded in South Indian inscriptions and strangely enough still lingers in Malabar, though its significance is now altogether forgotten. In the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandram, there is a small four pillared *maṇḍapa* in the first *prākāra* in which is placed a measure which is locally known at present by the name of the *akshaya-pātra*. Rice required for the services of the temple is measured out with this standard and in the said *maṇḍapa*: and the people say that the measurement is made with the particular auspicious vessel because the temple affairs would then only be prosperous. The inscription under consideration, as also another one to be found in Mūlikkaṭam, are of interest as showing that the Śrīvaiṣṇavas were

paying visit in these *pūḍal-perra-sthalams* in the medieval period, but have before the days of the railways given up on account of the hardship they had to suffer on account of natural conditions of the country, such as want of roads, safety from wild animals and the want of information regarding the exact situation of the *divya-dēśams* in the Malaināḍu. Now that the country has been opened up by the railways and finely metalled roads, it would not be difficult for them to resort to the places if only the few difficulties adverted to above are removed.

Text.

1. ஸுஷி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கோபாக்கரநிரவன்ம் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு இரண்டாமாண்டைக்கெதி[ரிரு]பத்தோராமாண்டு மகரத்தில் வியா[ழ]நின்ற [மி]-
2. நிச்சிக ஞாயிறு ஏழுசென்றநாள்த் திருக்காலக்கரை தேவருள்பாடனும் பெருமுதியா[னு]முடையபழ[ங்]காணி[யொ]ன்பது....கழைஞ்[ஞ்நாஸ்ப]-தெ[ரி].....
3. மே துப்பநாராயணனும் துப்பங்கிரிட்டனும் பன்னி[ரு*]ந் க[ன]ழஞ்ஞினுந்-கரிக்காட்டுபாட்டத்தில் நெடுந்[க]ரியும் கண்ண.....நங்ளக்கொள்ள கூறு பாதியும் வட-
4. வாயகமும் கொல்லச்சேரியவர்[க*]ளுடைத்தெடியபறம்பின்பள்ளி பல [மூக்க?]யும் மக்கள்[பல]ருளும் பாதியும் [பா]தியு[.....இவ்ஊரும் பணையமாய் விரி-
5. ச்சிக ஞாயிறு அவிட்டத்தினுள் தேவர் திருமடைப்பள்ளி நாழியால் னாற்றுநாழிச் செய்தரி உச்சியகத்து பந்தீரடியின் முன்ன[ம்*] கொண்டு வந்து பலகைத்த-
6. லை அளக்க கடவியந் துப்பநாராயணனுந் துப்பங்கிரிட்டனும் [||*] இவ் வரியால் பாதி திருவமிர்து சேவிது [||*] பாதியும் சிரிவயிண்ண[வ*]ர்க் கு[ம்] கு[மே] த்து கொள்விது [||*] இச்செலவு
7. முட்டுகிறீரட்டி செ[னு]த்து [விது] [||*] இச்செலவு அமைச்சேன் வல்லத் துப்போழந் நாரண[ன்] [||*] இப்பரியறியும் சாதுக்கள் பள்ளி..... கோக்கோதையும் [ப]டை[யொ]ழுகன் (?)
8. சி (கி or சீ?)லநாராயணந் கண்ணனுமறிவர் [||*] வெள்ளியான்பள்ளிச் சாத்தந்குமரனுந் நெடுந்நொல்லக் காளன் கோவிந்நனு மறிவர் [||*] இவ [ர்*]களறியக் குறிச்சுவைச்சறிவேன் பெரு-
9. (This line is built in).

Translation.

Lines 1-4. Hail! Prosperity! In the year twenty-one opposite the second of the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi, when the Jupiter stood in the Makara-rāśi, on the seventh (expired) day of the (solar) month Vṛiśchika, the nine *kāṇis* of land held in tenure by Dēvaruḷpāḍaṇ of Tirukkalkkarai and Perumudiyāṇ,.....forty-.....*kaḷaṇṇus* (of gold).....; for the twelve *kaḷaṇṇus* (of gold), Tuppan-Nārāyaṇan and Tuppan Kṛiṣṇaṇ,.....the plot of land named Neḍuṇkari in the tenure of Karikkāḍu (village).....(The sense of this portion of the passage cannot be made out because it is very fragmentary)...

Lines 5-6. Tuppan-Nārāyaṇaṇ and Tuppan-Krishṇaṇ shall measure out a hundred *nāḷis* of rice on the plank (kept in some place in the temple) with the *nāḷi* measure preserved in the kitchen of the god (at Tirukkālkkarai) before the 'twelve-feet' time of the Dhanishṭhā nakshatra day in the month of Vriśchika.

Lines 6-7. Out of this rice, one-half should be offered to the god; the remaining half should be given away to the Śrivaishnavas. If this expenditure falls in desuetude, it should be doubled (that is, he, by whose mistake the expenditure was stopped, is obliged, as a penalty, to pay double the quantity). I, Pōḷaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vallam, deposited (an amount as the capital for) this (item of) expenditure. The *sādhus* who know (or who are witnesses to) this (transaction) are:—Paḷḷi.....Kō-kKōdai; Śīla-Nārāyaṇaṇ, the leader of the army (?); Śāttāṇ Kumaran of Vel-ḷiyāppaḷḷi; Kāḷaṇ Gōvindaṇ of Neḍuṅgolli; I, Peru.....know this by having noted it (written down the record) to the knowledge of these (above mentioned persons).

E.—TIRUKKADITTĀNAM INSCRIPTION NO. III OF THE 26TH YEAR OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN'S REIGN.

The inscription edited below is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkadittānam. It is written in the **Vatṭeḷuttu** alphabet and in the **Tamil** language. It mentions Gōvarddaṇa Mārttāṇḍa of Vēṇāḍu also ruling over the Naṇṇulaināḍu, the *paraḍai*, the *poduvāls*, the 'three hundred' of the Naṇṇulaināḍu and the temple servant Kuṇṇaṇ Gōvindaṇ. It is dated in the **twenty-fourth year opposite the second** of the reign of the king, that is, the 26th which corresponds to A.D. 1010. On the left margin is engraved the sign manual of the king which appears to contain in it the first two syllables of the word Iravi written in the Grantha characters. The name Gōvarddaṇa Mārttāṇḍa has occurred already in other inscriptions. A number of records of Tirukkadittānam and Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr mention the 'three-hundred' of Naṇṇulaināḍu. It is not possible at present to identify this *nāḷu*.

Text.

1. ஸுவதி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கோப[ர]ற்காரிரவிவர்மம் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற
[யாண்டி]ரண்டினெதிர் இருப[த்து]நாலாமாண்டு வேண்டுடைய கோவர்த்-
தனம[ர]ர்த்தாண்டன்*]....நன்றுமுநாடு வாழ்.....திருக்கடித்தானத்து
2. பரிடையுந் கணத்தாரும் பொதுவான்மாரு நன்றுமுநாட்[டுமு]ந்நூற்ற
வரும் பணிசெய்கின்ற நெடும்புறத்து குன்ற[ன் கோவிந்]தனும்.....[இ]
விராமனுந் கூடி.....மபர்க்கு இ....
3. திருக்[ை]கய் உடையாருந் காட்டி-

Translation.

Be it well! Prosperity! In the year twenty-four opposite to the second of (the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarman a meeting of Gōvarddaṇa Mārttāṇḍa governor of Vēṇāḍu who was also administering the Naṇṇulaināḍu, the *paraḍai* of Tirukkadittānam, the *ganattār*, the *poduvāls*, the three hundred of Naṇṇulaināḍu, Kuṇṇaṇ Gōvindaṇ of Neḍumburam who does duty in the temple?) and Ravi Rāmaṇ.....

F.—TIRUKKADITTĀNAM INSCRIPTION NO. IV OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The subjoined inscription is found in the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkadittānam. It is written in the **Vatṭeḷuttu** alphabet. It is dated 2nd+24th year of an unmentioned king. For the reasons given under B, this record is also taken to belong to the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman.

is stated therein that the people living in the two divisions of the village of Nārāyanamaṅgalam belonging to the temple were ordered to measure out two.....of oil annually on the Uttarā nakshatra day of the month Paṅḡṇi and that this rule was to come into force from the next ensuing Kāṇṇi month. He that deferred to give his share of the oil should be made to pay double the quantity as also a fine of six *kaḷaṅḡṇus* of gold to the officer administering the district. Of the oil thus collected as a penalty one half was to be taken by the *pariḍaimār*.

Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ [||*] இரண்டா மாண்டினெதிர் இருபத்துநாலாமாண்டைக் கன்னி
ஞாயிறு முதல்
2. ஆண்டுவரை பங்குனிஉத்திரத்தினுள் உச்சையின் முன்னே இரண்டு
ப[டை?]
3. [அ?] எண்ணை ஆயட்டக் கடவியர் திருக்கோயிலுடைய நாராயண மங்கலத்
திர-
4. ண்டு கூற்றாரும் [||*] இது முட்டுகில் முட்டிச்சவன் முட்டிரட்டி ஆட்டு
விது-
5. ஞ்செய்வ[?]து [||*] நாடுவாமுமவர்[க*]ட்கு அறுகைமுது பொன்னுந்-
தண்டப்படுவிது [||*] முட்டிய எ-
6. ண்ணையிற்பாதி பரிடைமார் கொள்விது [||*]

Translation.

Prosperity! From the (solar) month Kāṇṇi of the twenty-fourth year opposite to the second (of the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman), the inhabitants of the two divisions of the village of Nārāyanamaṅgalam belonging to the temple shall (bring and) measure out annually two *paḍai* (?) of oil before the midday of the Uttarānakshatra day in the month of Paṅḡṇi. If this is delayed, he that so delays shall be subject to the penalty of double the quantity (of oil due from him) and also the payment of a fine of six *kaḷaṅḡṇus* of gold to the governor of the province. Of the oil that is delivered (with fine?) after such delays one half shall be taken by the *pariḍaimār*.

**G. TIRUKKĀKKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. II OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.
21ST YEAR.**

The following inscription is engraved on the outside base of the *śūru-maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. It is written in **Yatteluttu** and in the **Tamil** language. It records the gift of gold by a private individual. The inscription is badly damaged and its purpose cannot be ascertained. It is dated the **nineteenth year opposite the second** of the reign of the king; the gift was made in the solar month **Makara** when Jupiter stood in the **Kumbha rāśi**.

Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ [||*] கோச்சிரிப[ா*]ற்கரனிரவிவன்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லா
நின்ற மா(யா)ண்டு இரண்டா [மா]-
2. ண்டைக்கெதிர் [ஒருபத்தொன்ம[தா] மாண்டு சும்பத்துள் வியாழந்நின்ற
[மக]ர[நாயற்ற]

3. கோதை நாராயணன் கையா[ல்] அறுபதின் கழைஞ்ஞ செம்பொன் கொண்
டான் ம[ர]க்கண்ட[ர்]ப்பற்றி கண்ட நாராய[ண]....
4. இப்பொன் [அ]றுபதின் கழைஞ்ஞ[ஞ]னு[ம்] யிட....

(The rest highly damaged).

Translation.

Be it well! Prosperity! Kaṇḍa Nārāyaṇaṇ of Mākkaṇḍarpaḷli received from the hands of Kōḍai Nārāyaṇaṇ sixty *kaḷaṇḷus* of pure gold in the month of Makara, when Jupiter stood in the Kumbha (rāśi) in the nineteenth year opposite to the second (of the reign) of the king Bhāskara Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi. From these sixty *kaḷaṇḷus* of gold.....

H. TIRUKKĀKKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. III OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

This inscription is engraved on the base of the front *maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai and is as usual in the **Yaṭṭeḷuttu** alphabet and the **Tamiḷ** language. It is dated the 2nd plus the 29th year of the reign of the king **Bhāskara Ravivarman**. It records certain arrangements which were made regarding the collection of rents in kind due on the temple lands which were leased out to a number of private persons. This arrangement which is as follows, was settled on the twentieth day (expired) of the solar month **Vṛiśchika** when Jupiter stood in the **Dhanurāśi** :—

(1). Nakkaṇ-Iraivi and Ādicheṇaṇ Iraivi were bound to give as the rent on **Serumaṇṇappuḷai** Kaṇṇamaṇḍalam fifteen *nāḷis* of ghee, measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*; it is not clear if this name of the land implies two villages or plots of land, **Serumaṇṇappuḷai** and **Kaṇṇamaṇḍalam**, or, **Kaṇṇamaṇḍalam** situated in **Serumaṇṇappuḷai**.

(2). Nārāyaṇaṇ Dēvaṇ of the Puttillam (the name of his house) for the fourth of the *kaḷagam* he held, was obliged to supply ghee for one lamp.

(3). The ghee should be delivered in the temple in the three months of Mithunam **Karkaṭakam** and **Śiṅgam**.

(4). If any one fails to supply it in due time he should be subjected to a fine of paying double the quantity of ghee.

(5). The inscription is damaged after this portion. It apparently records exemption of certain duties connected with the tenure of the village of **Kaṇṇamaṇḍalam**.

(6). The ghee due from the above mentioned persons should be received by **Pōḷaṇ Kumāraṇ** of **Paṇṇisturutti** and **Ūrepāḍaṇ** the officer in charge of the **Neḷumpuraiyinaḍu** and the **Kāḷkkaraināḍu** and **Pēru-mūttavaṇ**.

(7). As witnesses to this arrangement the names of the following *sādhus* are affixed.

(a). **Suvaraṇ Tuppaṇ** of the **Maṇṇam** (illam).

(b). **Śaṅkaraṇ Dāmōdaraṇ** of the **Perumaṇaikōṭṭam** (illam).

(c). **Nārāyaṇaṇ Kaṇṇaṇ** of the **Maṇṇāḍu** (illam).

(d). **Puraiyaṇ Śēṇṇaṇ** of the **Nāgava** (?) **rēri** (illam).

(e). **Iraivi Rāmaṇ**, a native of **Vēṇāḍu**, being ordered by **Iraivikōḍai** of **Kuḷikkāl**, **Kōḍai Ayyaṇ** of **Serumaṇṇa-ppuḷai**, **Kōḍai Nāraṇaṇ** and **Kōḍai Kēraḷaṇ**, drew up this document and thereby knew this transaction. The epigraph gives the names of four persons as having ordered the writer to prepare the document but says 'being ordered by these three'.

1. ஸ்ரீ [11*] [தேகாச்சிரிபார்க்க[11*]ன் இரவிவன்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாபின்ற யாண்டு இரண்ட[11]மாண்டைக் கெதிர் இருபத்தொன்பதா மாண்டு தனுவில் வியாழந் பின்ற விரிச்சிகளுயிறு இருபது சென்ற நாள் செ[ய்*]த கரு-
2. மமாவது [11*] செறுமற்றப்புழைக்கண்ணமங்ஙலத்தின்மேல் நக்கனிரவியும் ஆதிச்சனிரவியுங் கொடுக்குந்நெயி இடங்கழியால் பதினஞ்ஞாழி நெய்யு[ம்*] திருக்கால்கரைபழா[ர்*]க்கு புத்தில்-
3. வத்து நாராயணந்தேவன் கூறு கழகநாலொன்றின்மேலு திருவிளக்கினு நெய் கொடுப்பானமைஞ்ஞான் நாராயணந்தேவன் [11*] இந்நெல் மிதுனமுங் கர்க்கடகமுஞ் சிங்கமு[ம்*] இம்முன்று திங்களுஞ் செலுத்தக்கடவன் [11*] முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி கொடுக்க கட[ட*]வன் [11*] கண்ணமங்ஙலத்தின்மேல் பழாரர்க்கு ஏறு...வக்குமி[லை] [11*] நாராயணந்தேவன் தன்கூறு சந்திரா திச்ச [கரு?]வ[ல்]ச[11] சேரபண்ண கடவன் [11*] பன்றித்தருத்திப்போழங் குமரன் நெடுப்புறையினுங் கால்கரை நா-
4. டி வானநா[ரே?] உ[டு]ரபாடனும் பெருமுத்தவனுங் கூடியிருந்து இந் நெ[ய்*] வாங்கிது (2) [11*] இப்பரியறியுஞ் சாதுக்கள் மன்றத்து சுவரந்துப் பனுமறியும் [11*] பெருமனைக்கோட்டத்து சங்மரந்தாமோதிரனுமறியு மாங்ஙாட்டு நாராயணங்கண்ணனுமறியும் [11*] [நகவ?]ரேரி புறையு ஞ்சேந்நனுமறியும் [11*] குறிக்காலையிரவி கோதையும் செறுமற்றப்புழைக் கோதை அய்யனுங் கோதைநாரணனு[ம்*] கோதை கேரளனு[ம்*] யிம்முவரு முன்னிருந்து இக்கருமம் பணித்தவகையெழுதி அறிவேன் வேனுட்டு இரவி [கு]ம[ர்]னேன் [11*].

(2) Read வாங்குவது.

are the *sādhus* who know this (or are witnesses to this transaction) :—Śuvaran Tuppan of Maṇṇam knows; Śaṅkaraṇ Dāmōdaraṇ of Perumaṇaikkōṭṭam knows; Nārāyaṇaṇ Kaṇṇaṇ of Māṇḡāḍu knows; Puraiyaṇ Sēndaṇ of [Nagavarēri] knows; I, Iravi Kumaraṇ of Vēṇāḍu, know this by writing (the document) when Iravi Kōḍai of Kuḷikkālāy, Kōḍai Ayyaṇ, Kōḷai Nārāyaṇaṇ and Kōḍai Kēraḷaṇ—these three ⁽¹⁾—were present and ordered me to do so.

I. PERUNEYIL INSCRIPTION OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMA TIRUVAḌI.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the south base of the central shrine of the temple at Peruneyil, a suburb of Chaṅgaṇāśēri. It is very well preserved; the writing is in the **Vatṭeḷuttu** character and the language of the record is **Tamiḷ**. It is dated the **thirty-sixth year opposite the second** of the reign of the king who is here called Kōṇōyiṇmai-konḍāṇ, a variant of the more common form Kō-nēr-iṇmai-konḍāṇ; the former means the king who took to being without (or free from) disease and the latter, the king who did not permit of the existence of any equals to him. It is recorded that some arrangements were made at the end of the solar month Rishabha, when Jupiter also stood in the Rishabharāśi, of the thirty-eighth of the reign of the king: the time corresponds to April—May of the year A.D. 1016. The document was got engraved on stone under the supervision of the king's officers Iravikaṇṇi of Śōravellūr and Kumāra Nārāyaṇaṇ of (the) Kuḷamaṇ-galam (*iḷlam*). The immediate purpose for which the order was issued by the king is that the tenants need not pay to the king's officers any other sums of money beyond what is due under their tenancy conditions and this order was passed upon the resolution arrived at the meeting of the townsmen, the *paraḍaiyārs* and the *poḍuvāḷs* of the village of Peruneydal and communicated to the king for information and necessary action.

Text.

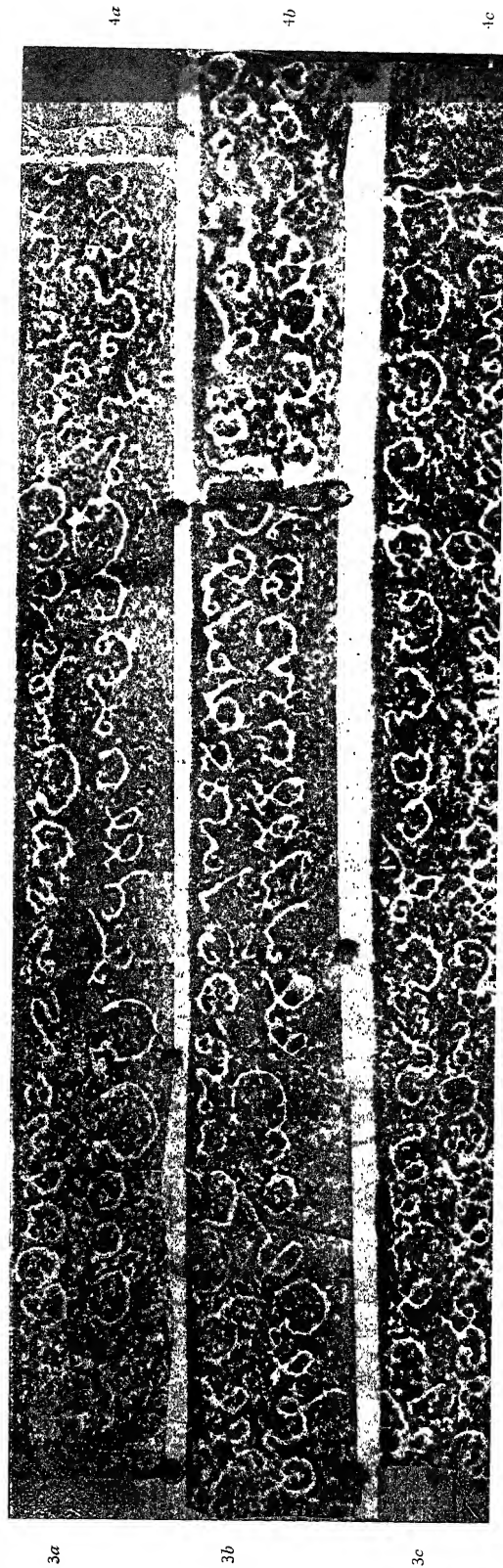
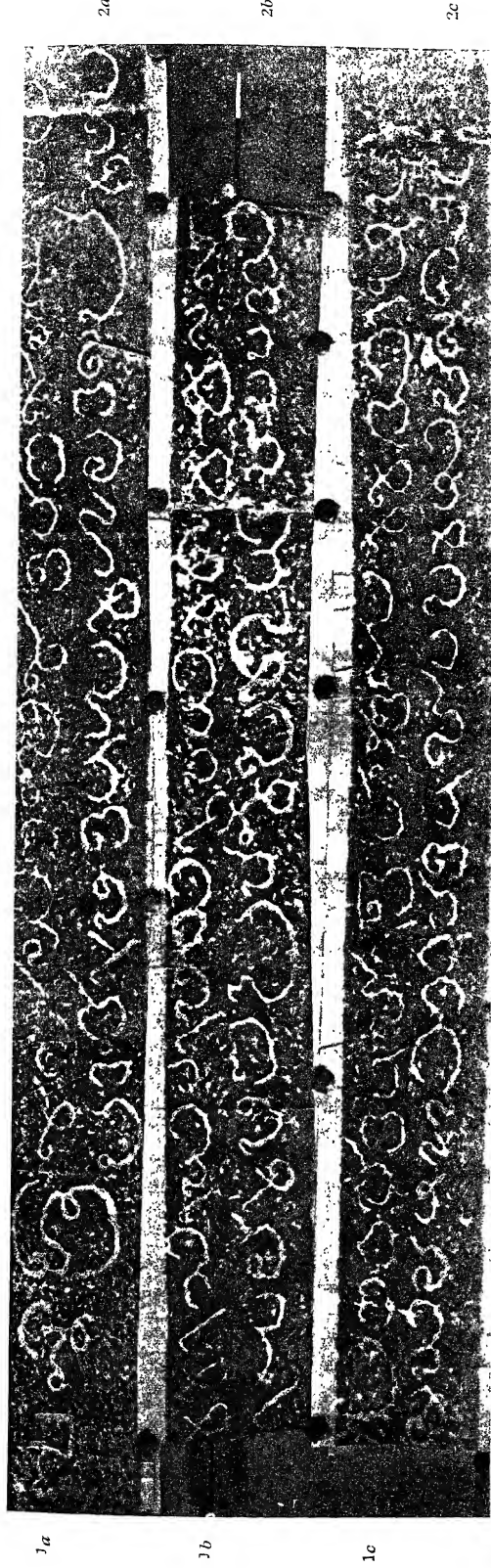
1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||*] கோனேயின்மைகொண்டான் கோச்சிரிபாக்கரணி ரவிவர்ம திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு இரண்டாமாண்டைக் கெதிர் முப்-
2. பத்தோராம[||*]ண்டு பெருநெய்தல் ஊரும் பரடையாரும் பொதுவாளுந் கூடி இடபத்தில் வியாழந்நி[ன்]றவாண்டு இடபங்கழிவில் ஏண்ப-
3. தின் கலநெல் நன்றுழெ நாட்டினு ஆட்டைக்கோளாக கொடுப்பானமைஞ் ஞ[ர]மைச்சுள்ளுந்[?] த. ர் கோயிலதிகாரிகளுக்கு இ(?)து கொடுத்த ம[ற்]றெப்பொன்-(2)
4. பட்டதுங் கொடுக்க[க்க*]டமையில்லை [||*] இது திருமுகங்காட்டிக் கொள் ளக்கடவிய[ரென்று] அருளிச் செய்கையால்க் கோயிலதிகாரிகளாய் வந்நிரு ந்து கல்லின்-
5. மேல்க்காட்டிச் சோரவெள்ளூரிரவிகண்ணியுங் கூளமங்கலத்து ஸ்ரீகூடார- நாராயணது ||—

Translation.

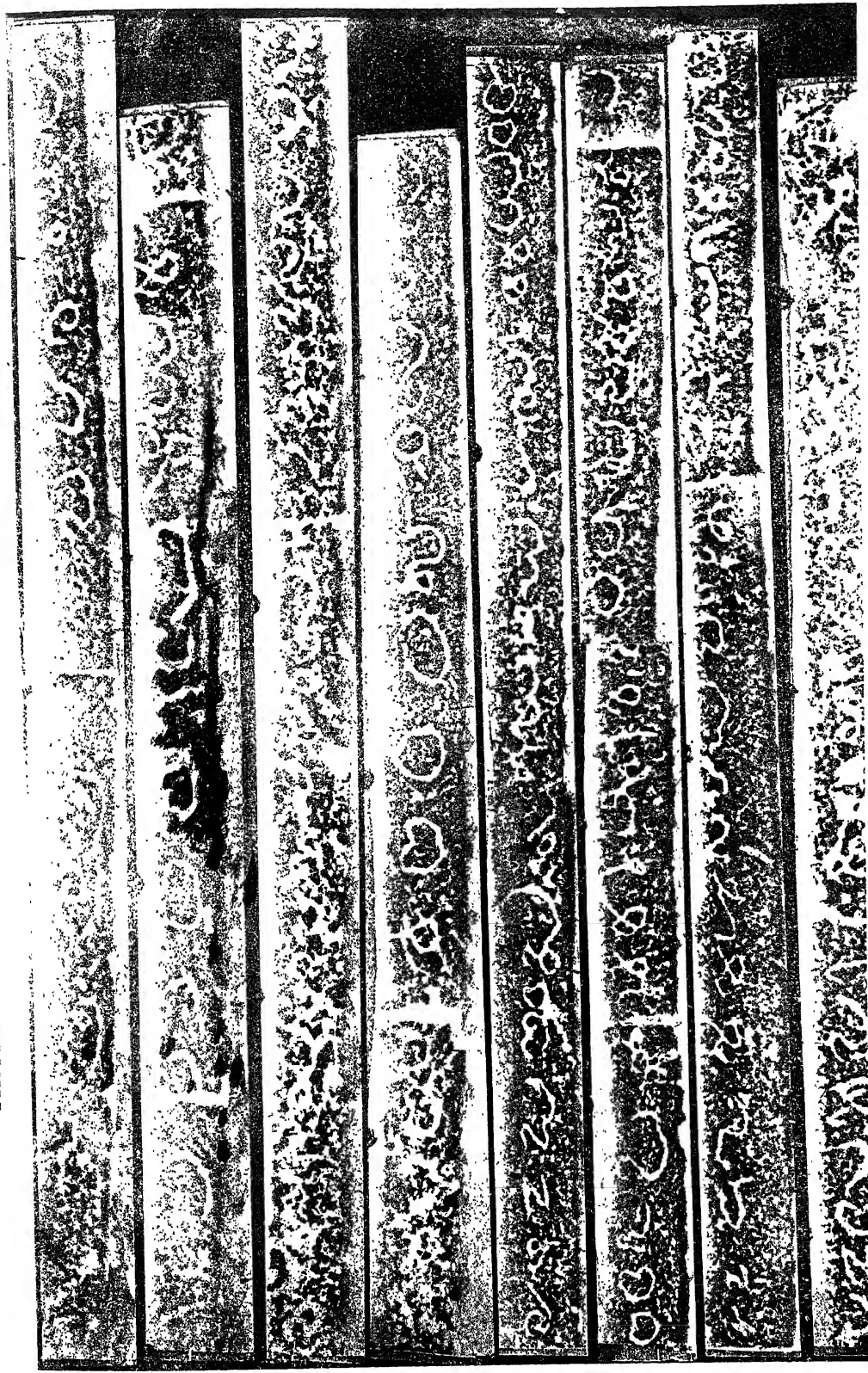
Hail! Prosperity! In the year thirty-two opposite the second of the reign of the king who was (so constituted as) not to get any disease, Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi, which was a year in

(1) Here the names of four persons are mentioned, but the inscription refers to them as three instead of four.

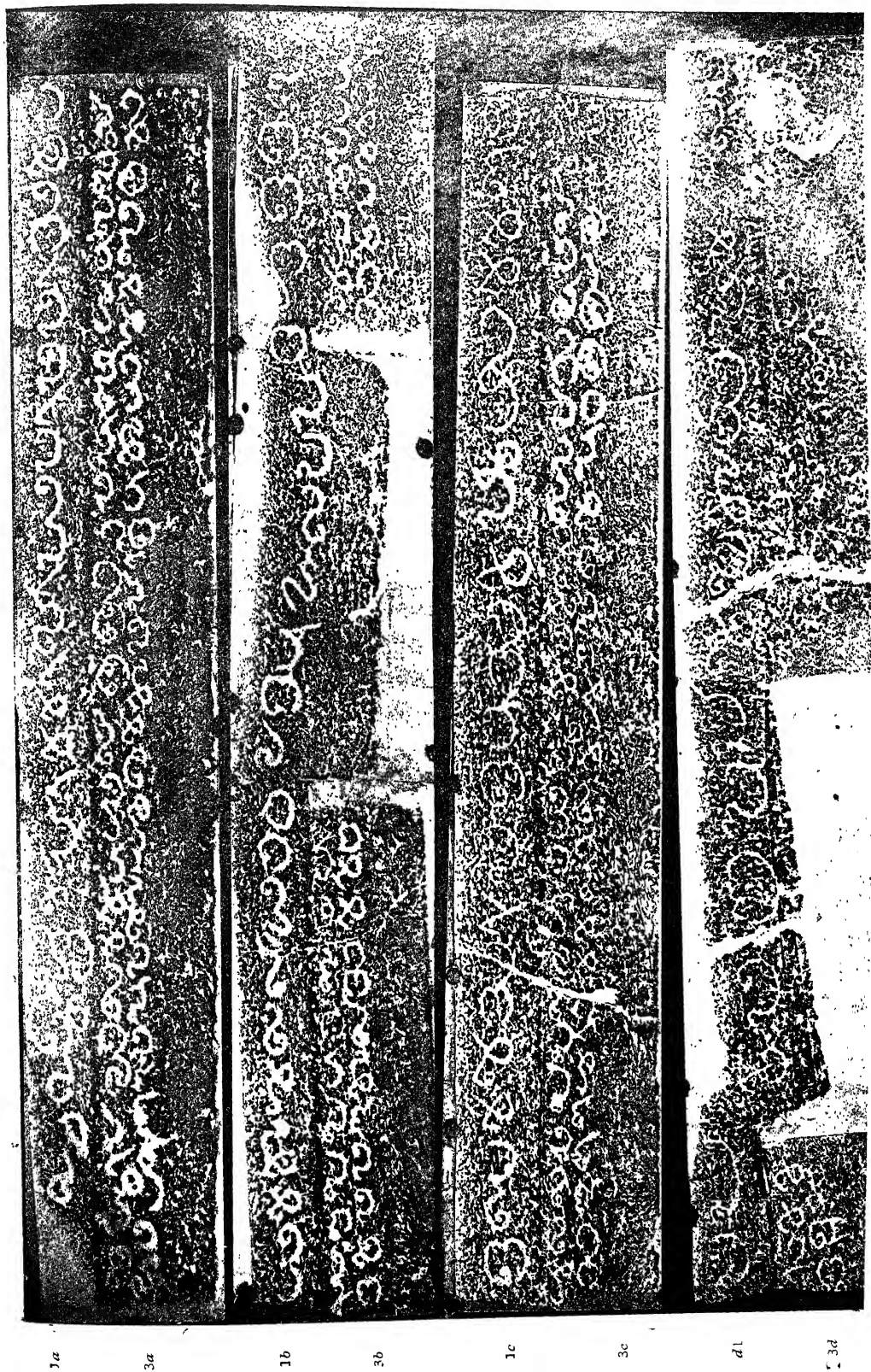
(2) Read °றெப்பேர்ப்பட்டது.



TIRUKKADITTANAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN. J



TIRUMULIKKALAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN. K.



which Jupiter stood in the Rishabha rāśi, the townsmen of Peruneydal, the *paraḍaiyūr* and the *poḍuvāls* met. (On this occasion) the . . . agreed to give to the *kōyiladhikāri* eighty *kalam*s of paddy as the annual impost on the Nāṅḡlāināḍu. If they pay this (impost) they need not pay any other (tax) whatsoever. The king was pleased to say that they might show (in future) this letter (of his while carrying out this order). Having heard the king order thus, the *kōyiladhikāri* came here personally and got this engraved on stone by Iravi Kappi of Sōravellūr and Śrī Kumara Nārāyaṇaṇ.

J. TIRUKKAḌITTĀNAM INSCRIPTION NO. IV OF THE REIGN OF
BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMA TIRUVAḌI.

This is a badly damaged inscription written, as usual, in the **Vatteḷuttu** alphabet and in the **Tamiḷ** language. It belongs to the **forty**.....year **opposite** the **second** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarman**. It records the donation made by a private individual to the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam wherewith a perpetual lamp was required to be burnt in the temple. It is engraved upon the west base of the central shrine of the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittānam.

Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ[ஃ*] ஸ்ரீ[ஃ*] கோப்பாற்கா இரவிவன்ம்மா திரு[வ]டிக்குச்
[செல்].....மாண்[டை]க் கெதிராமாண்டு நால்பத்[தேழு?]ம் சென்ற துலாத்
தில் விபாழந்நின்ற.....திருக்கடித்தானத்து படார[ர*]க்கு மு[ர]க்
காட்டு இயக்கங்.....அமைச்ச செலவானிது ஒரு நொந்தா விளக்கு பந்தி....

(Damaged).

Translation.

Be it well! Prosperity! In the forty-seventh year (expired) opposite to the.....year of (the reign of) the king Bhāskara Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi, when Jupiter stood in Tulaṛāśi..... the following is the item of expenditure for which Iyakkaṇ....of Murakkāḍu made arrangement for (the required capital) a perpetual lamp.....

K. TIRUMŪLIKKALAM INSCRIPTION OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The following inscription is found on the base of the front *maṇḍapa* of the Viṣṇu temple at Tirumūlikkalam and is in the **Vatteḷuttu** characters and in the **Tamiḷ** language. It is dated the **year opposite to the forty-eighth** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarman**; the portion of the inscription containing the name of the reigning sovereign, the date of the document, the name of the donor and the purpose and the shape of the donation is in good preservation, but the rest of it is almost obliterated and is consequently impossible to be made out. It records the gift of land by the king **Manukulādityan** for the maintenance of an *agram* (feeding of Brāhmaṇas). It is curious to note that the inscriptions K, L and M are dated in quite a different manner from all other inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman (*viz.* A to J, the two Tirunelli grants, the Cochin plates &c.); that is, the year two which used to be quoted first, to which some other year was usually set opposite, is itself set opposite to some other year in L; in other words the order is reversed. In K, the year one is set opposite to the 48th; whereas, in M the year two is omitted altogether. On astronomical grounds Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai is inclined to believe that some of the documents should perhaps be attributed to a second Bhāskara Ravivarman. He writes:—
"Bhāskara Ravivarman II. In the 38th year of the last reign, (that is of the Bhāskara Ravivarman

whose inscriptions are dated the 2nd year plus another year), Jupiter was in Rishabha, whereas in the 48th year of this reign (Makara month), he is in Simha (Tirunelli plate, Indian Antiquary XX, p. 235) and in the 49th year (Tulā month) he is in Tulā (No. 95 of 1086 of the Travancore collection). If all these three dates belonged to the same reign, Jupiter having been in Rishabha rāśi in the 38th year, would be in or near Rishabha again (not in Tulā 5 houses off) in the 49th year, Tulā month. Whether No. II Bhāskara Ravivarman reigned before or after No. I Bhāskara Ravivarman it is not possible to say. His reign may have begun as early as A.D. 929 or as late as 1021. Palæography should be able to throw some light on this point". Palæography unfortunately does not throw any light whatsoever, all the documents noticed hitherto being written in the same kind of Vaṭṭeluttu, practically of the same period. At present the question of the possibility of the existence of two Bhāskara Ravivarmans cannot be considered for want of sufficient materials and must remain open until fresh evidences are obtained.

Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ [1*] கோபார்க்கர இரவிவர்மர் திருவடிக்கு செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு நால்பத்தெண்ணுமாண்டைக் கெதிராமாண்டு திருமுழிக்களத்து ஊரும் பொதுவாளுங்கடி முக்கால் வட்டத்து இருந்து அவிரோதத் தால் பண்ணின கச்சமாவது [1*] மனுகுலாதிச்சன் திருவக்கிரத்தினு கொடுத்தருளின [சே]ரிக்காலாவது....யி [பூய]த்து பறம்பு பெரும்பறம்பு கோ-
2. தையூர் வாயில்க்காடு மேலாஞ்ஞினிப் புழைநெடுங்குன் பார்(?) பனைங் காடு த....[பு]லை வெருபட்டி செல்லமங்ஙலர் தோட்டி [பூ].....சை மக ளில் பாதியும் [இ]ச்சேரிக்க[ர].....ருப்பு....காரா[ண்]மை ...மவனும் கோ[விந்]....ச்சே கோம....னும்.....ழி....ள....[க]ச்ச.....
3. யும் [வே]ளனும் அரு.....டெய ஒக்கும் இரண்டு குடிக்கமைஞ்சிறரும் மனுகுலாதிச்சன் திருவக்கிரத்தினுள்ள சேரிக்காலில் சென்று ஒரு அன்ஞராயம் பண்ண.....யார் இருங்காடி கண்ட[லும்] [அ]யிராணிக்களத்தும் ஊரவா ரியரும். ண[பொ]ற்றாதன் கோதை....னராயிதனுக்கு....

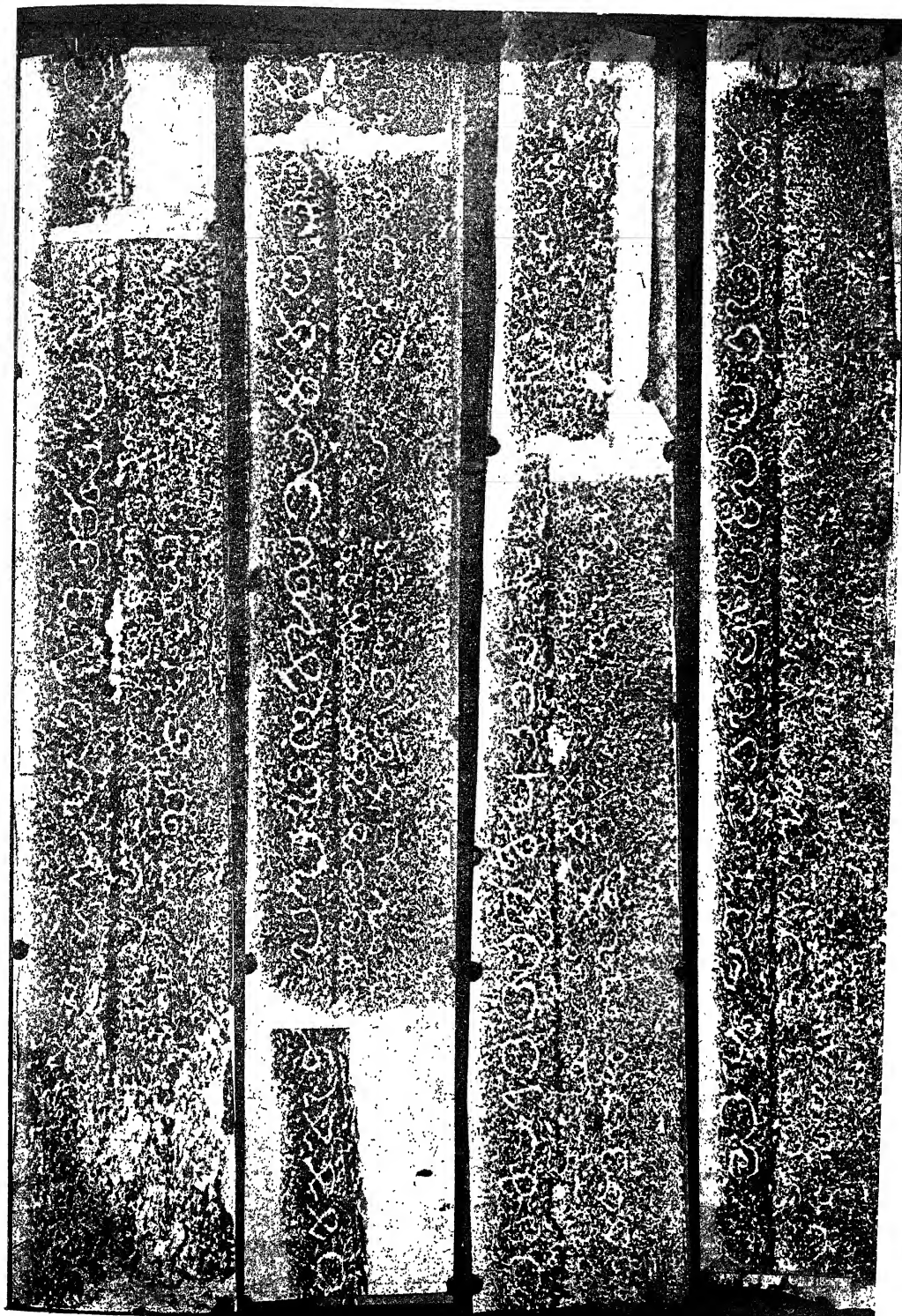
Abstract of Contents.

Hail! Prosperity! The following arrangement was made unanimously by the townsmen and the *poduvāls* who met in the temple at Tirumūlikkaḷam, in the year opposite to the forty-eighth of the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi:—The *chērikkals* (lands on the slopes of hills) which Manukulādiecheṇ was pleased to set apart for the feeding of brāhmanas (*agram*) in his name are: Pūyattu-paraṃbu, Perumbaṃbu, Kōdaiyār-vāyil-kkāḍu, Mēlāñṇinip-pulāi, Neḍunganpār (?), Paṇaiñṇāḍu,.....Pulaiverupaṭṭi, Chellamangalam and one half of Tōṭṭipu... sai.....(the rest of the inscription is damaged and fragmentary. In one portion it is said that no one shall do injustice to the *agram*).

L. TIRUKKĀKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. IV OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The subjoined inscription is also engraved on the base of the front *maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākarai and is also in the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet and the Tamil language. It is dated the second year opposite to the year forty and odd; the portion containing the odd year is damaged and therefore cannot be read with certainty; in this year Jupiter was in the Mīna rāśi.

TIRUMULIKKALAM INSCRIPTION OF PILLAYANANGALAYATTA (cont.)



The inscription records that Gōvindaṇ Kuṇṇappōlaṇ of Kuvalāyini gave to the temple at Tirukkākkarai forty *kaḷaṇṇi* of gold, which was received by Puṇaiyaṇ Kāḷkkarai of Neḍiya-taḷi, on the following conditions :—

(1) The latter had purchased for the sum paid by the former the lands known as..... (here the inscription is damaged), Mānāḍu, [Ā] lakkaḍu, the hills, &c., that are included in it; from the income of these lands, he was to supply a hundred *nāḷis* of rice as measured by the *muṇṇānāḷi* and by the same measure two *nāḷis* of ghee, beginning from the Pūrāḍam (Purvāśā-dha) nakshatra, up to the Ōṇam (Śravaṇa) nakshatra.

(2) The specified quantity of rice and ghee should be brought to the temple before the *pannirāḍi* time of the day (*agattu pannirāḍi*) and the rice offering made to the deity at the *pūjā* performed at the *pannirāḍi* time.

(3) The rice offered to the god should be divided into two equal parts, of which one half should be spent in feeding the Brāhmaṇa Śrīvaiṣṇavas. Of the other half twentyfour *nāḷis* (measured by *muṇṇānāḷi*) should be given to the *pūjāris* *emberumakkal*, six *nāḷis* to him who supplies to the temple flower garlands, six *nāḷis* to the person who cleans the temple ground with cowdung and (perhaps the remaining fourteen *nāḷis* were to be utilised) for the purchase of twenty-four cocoanuts, one *iḍaṇḍaḷi*, four *nāḷis* and one *uri* of salt, six *palams* of tamarind..... and for leaves, (curds &c); the portion of the inscription after this is ill-preserved and difficult to read.

Text.

1. ஸஹி ஸ்ரீ [1*] கோப்பாக்காரி[ரவிவன்ம திருவடிக்குச் செல்]லாரி[ன்]ற யாண்டு நால்ப்பத்.....ண்டைக்கெதிர் இரண்டாமாண்டு மீனத்தில் வியாழநிற்கச் செய்த கருமமாவது [1*] குவலாயினிக் கோவின்நங்குன்றப்-போழனுடை(1) நால்ப்பதின் கழைஞ்சு பொன் கொ[ண்]டு நெடியதளிப் புறையங்காலக்கரை இப்பொன்னினு
2. [த]ான் நேடிக்கொண்டக.....க்க.....னசாலை [யா ?]ர்க.....மாநாடு [ஆ]லக்காடுமவற்றினுபடும் ம[லையு]ங் கரையும் கொண்டு திருக்கால்[சு*]ரை பட்டார[சு]ர்க்குப் பணி பூராடந்துடங்கி ஒணத்தளவும் முன்னாநாழியால் நூற்றுநாழிச் செய்தரியும் முந்நா[நா]ழியால் இருநாழிச்செய்து நெய்யுங்கொண்டு அகத்து பந்நீரடியில் மு[ன்]வன்னு திருவமிர்து செய்விச்ச பாதியுங்கொண்டு பி-
3. ராம்மணருஞ் சிரிவைண்ணவரையு[ம்*] அமிர்து செய்விச்ச மற்று அரிம்-முந்நாநாழியால் எம்பெருமக்களுக்கு இருபத்து நாநாழியும் பள்ளித்தாமத்தினு அறுநா[ழி]யுந் திருவலகினு அறு நாழியும் பிராமணர் அமிர்தினு தேந்நாயிருபத்துநாலு உப்பு இடங்கழி நால்நாழி[வு]ரி புளி அறுபலம்....பலிக்கு....ழி இதின்னுவேண்டு மிலையும் விறகு-
4. [ம்]....த[யிறி]ன்னுளா இரண்டு [வுரி]

(Incomplete).

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! The business which was done when the year two opposite to the forty.....of the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi was current, when Jupiter was in the Mīna rāśi, was (as follows) : Puṟaiyaṅ Kāḷkkarai of Neḍiyataḷi, having received from Kuṇṇa-pōḷaṅ of Kuvalāyini forty *kaḷāṅḡus* of gold, purchased (?)Mānāḍu, Ālakkāḍu, including the hills and lands that are, within them, and agreed to supply from the day of the Pūṟāḍa nakshatra to that of Ōṇam (each month), within the ' twelve-feet ' time (of the day) one hundred *nāḷis* of rice, as measured by the *munṇānāḷi* and two *nāḷis* of ghee measured by the *munṇānāḷi* ; he further agreed to see that the offering was made in proper time. Of the rice that is offered, one half is to be utilised for feeding brāhmanas and Śrīvaiṣṇavas ; out of the remaining half, the *pujāris* (*emberumakkal*) should be given twenty four *nāḷis* measured by *munṇānāḷi* ; for flower garlands, six *nāḷis* ; for cleaning the temple premises (*tirunalagiḍudal*) six *nāḷis* ; twenty four cocoanuts, one *iḍaṅgaḷi* and four *nāḷis* and *uri* of salt, six *palams* of tamarind, leaves, fuel and curds are also to be supplied for the feeding of the brāhmanas.

M.—TIRUKKĀKKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. V OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The very ill-preserved record edited below is also to be found on the base of the front *maṇḍapa* of the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. It is dated the **fifty-eighth year** of the king **Bhāskara Ravivarman** ; in this year Jupiter stood in the **Simha rāśi**. It informs us that one Kēraḷam Pōḷaṅ took up the *kārāṇmai* of certain lands for which he bound himself to burn a perpetual lamp in the temple and to pay a certain quantity of paddy. Dēvaṇṇpāḍaṅ, Perumudiyaṅ and the Poduvāḷs of Tirukkākkarai were appointed receivers of the above mentioned paddy. The Kēraḷaṅ (the holder of the *kārāṇmai*), the men of the *paḍavāram* and the two families of Poduvāḷs should supervise the harvesting (*kaṅkōṇichchu*) and pay the salary of the *mēḷṣānti emberumāṇ*. The rest of the inscription is fragmentary ; at the end of the document are the signatures of a number of Brāhmaṇa sādhus.

The words *paḍavāram* and *śānti śeyyum emberumāṇ* or *emberumakkal* occur in this and in other inscriptions. For instance, the word *paḍavāram* occurs in the plate of Rajaśēkhāra ; and *kōppaḍavāram* and *paḍippaḍavāram* occur in the Syrian Christian plates of Kōṭṭayam. It appears from these terms that certain taxes were levied upon the gross income of lands belonging to big landlords which are taken out on lease by tenants, which was perhaps a tenth part ; and these went to the landlords by virtue of their being the lords of the land ; *kōppaḍavāram* means the *vāram* (portion) which is allotted to the holder of the position of a king and similarly *paḍippaḍavāram*, the *vāram* allotted to the holder of the position of a *pati* (a smaller position than that of a king) ; that this is the probable meaning becomes patent from the Kōṭṭayam plates wherein there actually figure a *kō* (the king Sthāṇu Ravi) and two *patis* (the Punnaittalaippadi and the Āṇaik-kuḍippadi).

The words *emberumāṇ* and *emberumakkal* literally mean ' our lord ' and ' the class of men who are our lords ' respectively and are usually employed by the lower classes towards their higher class people : for instance, a Śūdra addresses a Nambudiri as *embrāṇ*, which is contracted into *mbrāṇ* ; a Tachchan, an Īḷavaṅ or a Vāḷaṅ calls a Śūdra by the same *mbrāṇ*. It is the word *emberumāṇ* that has given rise to the modern word *embrāṇḍiri* as applied first to the *śāntikkārs* in temples and secondly, from the fact that the majority of these are Tuḷu-Brāhmaṇas of the South Kanara District, to the members of this sect of brāhmanas. The words *embrāṇḍiri*, Nambudiri, Sōmatiri, akkidiri &c.,—ending in *tiri*—are in my opinion, composed of, two words, the first of which are *emberumāṇ*, Nambu, etc., and the second *tiru* the honorific suffix ; in common language they change into *embrāṇḍri*, Nambudiri, etc.

Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ கோபாக்கரணிரவன்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு ஐம்-
பத்தெட்டாமாண்டு சிங்நத்தில் வியாழநின்றவாண்டு சாலவேலி கேரளம்-
போழன் கொண்டகாரண்மை [க]ற்று[ன]தத(?)...வ[ர]னும் பூமிங்நம்(?)
செல்லும் செலவு [ஒ]ரு நந்தாவிளக்கு காராளன் செலுத்த கடவன் [ஃ]
செலுத்திச்ச கொள்வானமைஞ்ஞார் திருக்காலக்கரை தேவ[நு]ன்பாடன்
பெருமுதியன் பொதுவாளு[ம்*] [ஃ*] ஒன்பதினால் ஒன்ப[தி]ன் தூற்
[ரு]ல் ந[ர]லு....மிதுகாராளு பதவாரம்மாக்க[ரு][ம்*] இரண்டுக்குடி
பொதுவாள்ம[ர]-
2. ரும் கூடி கண்காணிச்ச மேல்சாந்தி எம்பெருமான் சீவிதமு[ம்*] ஆ.....
[மைஞ்சி] த்து செலுத்தக்[டு]வர் [ஃ*]. இது காராளனா இரவிகோ
விந்நதும்...செ.....ஒரோ [தூணி] நெல்லு.....யால்ச.....வா...தி.....
லக்குவிப்போம்.....ள்ளிகைவட்டகையு[ம்*] வச்ச அ[க]த்தெழுந்
நள்[ளி]...டது [ஃ*] இதறியுஞ் சாதுக்க[ள்] நெய்தல் மங்நலத்து கேசவ
ங்கே...
3.மேருமனைக்காட்டு கேயவனும் [வண்ட] பாடி நாராயண.....காட்ட
கடவ.....கோவிந்நன் [சா]த்த[னும்] கண்ணஞ் சேந்நனு.....

(The rest of the inscription is badly damaged and is therefore illegible).

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! While the fifty-eighth year of the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravi-
varma Tiruvaḍi was current, the year being one in which Jupiter stood in the Simha rāśi, the
kārāṇmai taken by Kēraḷaṇ Pōḷaṇ of Śālavēli.....The holder of the kārāṇmai (kārāḷaṇ) shall
bear the cost of (burning) one perpetual lamp. Dēvarpāḍaṇ, Perumudiyaṇ and the poduvāḷ, of
Tirukkālkkarai constituted themselves as agents to receive this (perhaps the amount due for the
lamp).....The kārāḷaṇ, the people of the padavāṛgm (that is, either those paying the padavāram
or receiving it) and the two families of poduvāḷs shall supervise this and arrange to pay the salary
of the mēl-śāntikkāraṇ (the chief pūjāri)..... (The rest of the document is damaged and no sense
could be made out of the fragment).

POSTSCRIPT.

The Hon. Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai was good enough to furnish me with the follow-
ing note on the dates of the various inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman:—

"I have been working for the better part of two days at these Bhāskara Ravivarman
dates. There are two which deserve the calculator's special attention; viz.,

(1) 14th year; Jupiter in Makara, Mīna month past 20, Sunday and Punarvasu
nakshatra.

(2) 43rd year; Jupiter in Tulā, Mīna month past 8, Wednesday, Uttara nakshatra, i.e.,
Uttara-Phalguni.

The first equivalents to these dates which deserve consideration are:—

(1) A.D. 1060, Sunday, March 12 (Mīna 20), on which day Punarvasu nakshatra began
at 12½ ghaṭikās after sunrise, ending next day at 13 ghaṭikās after sunrise. On 12th March

A. D. 1060, Jupiter's mean longitude was 290.55 degrees and he was in Makara. His actual geocentric longitude was about the same.

(2) A.D. 1021, Wednesday, March 1 (Mina 9); on which day Uttara Phalguni nakshatra commenced at 3 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise ending next day at sunrise. On 1st March 1021 A.D., Jupiter's mean longitude was 186.08 degrees which was in Tulā rāśi.

It will be noticed that the interval between these dates is 39 years and that the 14th regnal year (A.D. 1060) is later than the 41st or 43rd (A.D. 1021). If these be the dates, the regnal years must belong to two different kings.

Two other years rank next as equivalents to these. They are given by the 95 years cycle, which means that after 95 years Jupiter's rāśi, the solar month and day, weekday and nakshatra may all be repeated. Thus we find that in A.D. 1060+95=A.D. 1155, on Sunday, March 13 (20th Mina) the longitude of Jupiter was 293 degrees, *i.e.*, he was in Makara rāśi; Punarvasu nakshatra began on this day and ended next day at 14½ *ghaṭikās* after sunrise and the day was the 20th of Mina month. Similarly, in A.D. 1021+95=A.D. 1116, on Wednesday, March 1st (9th Mina), Uttara was perhaps regarded as the nakshatra current at sunrise, though strict computation by the equal space system shows that Uttara nakshatra had come to end 12 *palas* or 8 minutes before sunrise. On Wednesday (local time does not help in the matter for any longitude west of Salem), Jupiter's longitude on this day was 189°09 degrees which was in Tulā. Even if the '8th Mina date' was supposed to be this, and the '20th Mina' date taken as A. D. 1060, the interval between the earlier and the later date (A. D. 1060 and 1116) would be 56 years and not anything like the interval between 14th regnal year and 43rd regnal year.

Making allowance for the fact that the longitude of Jupiter according to the *Sūrya-siddhānta* about A. D. 1001 was 10½ degrees less than the actual mean longitude of Jupiter according to modern astronomy, we may suppose that A. D. 1105, Wednesday, March 1 (=Mina 8th), when Uttara nakshatra began at 38½ *ghaṭikās*, ending next day at 42½ *ghaṭikās*; and on which Jupiter's mean longitude, according to *Sūrya-siddhānta*, was 205 degrees (modern astronomy 215 degrees), was the day intended in the 43rd regnal year.

In this case the '20th Mina' date (14th regnal year) would have preceded the '8th Mina' date by 45 years (not by 29 years as required). An interval of less than 45 years between the earlier and later regnal years (supposing they belonged to the same reign) is not possible. The interval may have been 56 years (A.D. 1060 and A.D. 1116) or '20th Mina' date (A.D. 1060 or A.D. 1155) may have belonged to the 14th regnal year of a reign later than the one to which the 43rd regnal year with '8th Mina' date belonged (A. D. 1021 or A. D. 1116).

There are therefore three suppositions possible:—

- (a) The interval between the '20th Mina' date (1060 A. D.) and the '8th Mina' date (A. D. 1105) may have been 45 years; and if the first date was the 14th regnal year of one reign, the second may have been the 43rd regnal year of a later reign;
- (b) the interval between the two may have been 56 years (A. D. 1060=14th regnal year of one reign; and A. D. 1116=43rd regnal year of a later reign);
- (c) the '8th Mina' date (A.D. 1021 or A.D. 1116) may have been the 43rd year of an earlier reign which came to an end not less than 15 years later (because we have a date in the 58th year) and then another reign commenced, of which the 14th may have been the '20th Mina' date (A.D. 1060 or A.D. 1155). On this supposition the first reign may have gone on till the 68th year (A.D. 1046 or A.D. 1141).

I next proceed to reconcile as far as possible the remaining dates (not completely verifiable) given by you, supposing they all belong to the reign to which the '8th Mina' date (43rd regnal year) belongs. And here I must remark that the 43rd regnal year has to be regarded as the 41st for the purpose of two other dates (the 13th and the 31st regnal year) whereas for the purpose of one other date, the 38th regnal year the same regnal year should be treated as the 43rd.

On the whole the reconciliation is not at all satisfactory and I hope you will be able to discover one or two more weekday dates which may clear up the mystery of the regnal years."

[Table.

Reconciliation Table.

The other dates (not completely verifiable) as given by Mr. Gopinatha Rao were :—

Reg. Year.	Solar month.	Jupiter's Rāśi.	Equivalent in the Christian era.	The first regnal year.
6+7	... Tula month	... J. Rishabha	... May be with reference to A.D. 1021, 1 Mar. Wed. as a fixed point for 41st regnal year.	1st regnal year 980 A.D., Oct. 10.
2+[2]9	... Makara month	... J. Kumbha	... A.D. 992—Oct. when Jupiter's mean longitude was 44°55'.	982, Jan. 7.
2+29	... Vrischika 20	... J. Dhanus	... A.D. 1002, Jan. J.'s long. 325° Reg. year 2+[1] 9=21.	981, Nov. 14.
2+[2]1	... Vrischika 8	... J. Makara	... A.D. 1011, Nov. 14 R. Year 2+29=31 J.'s long 264°04'=Dhanus J.	A.D. 980, Nov. 2.
2+36	... Vrisabha month ending (≈ ୧୧)...	... J. Vrisabha	... A.D. 1012, Nov. 2, Reg. year 2+[3]1=33. J.'s long 293°39'=J. Makara.	981, May 22.
2+4[—]	... Jupiter in Mīna...		... A.D. 1016, May 22. Reg. year 36, not 38 J.'s long 41°24'=J. Rishabha.	980, Oct. or 981 Oct.
58th Reg. year...	... Jupiter in Simha...		... May be A.D. 1026 Oct. J.'s long 355° 46th or 47th Reg. year.	
			... May be A.D. 1031 July J.'s long 142° 51st or 52 Reg. year = J. Simha.	

If, as is probable, the 13th regnal year and the 31st regnal year (Vrischika 20) leave no room for doubt then the other regnal years must be disposed off conjecturally as indicated above.

*No. 8.—AN INSCRIPTION OF RAVIVARMAN SAṅGRĀMADHĪRA.

Three inscriptions published by Drs. Kielhorn and Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica* have brought out much valuable information regarding the king Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkharadēva. Of the two inscriptions published by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume IV, one is found in the Aruḷalapperumāl temple at Conjeevaram and the other in the temple of Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam; that published by Dr. Hultzsch is engraved on the central shrine of Viraṭṭānēśvara temple at Tiruvadi. From these three documents we learn that Ravivarman bore the title Mahārāja and the *biruda* Saṅgrāmadhīra. He was the son of the king Jayasīmha Virakēraḷa and belonged to the Yādava family and was consequently of the lunar race. The name of the mother of Ravivarman was Umādēvī; he was born in the Śaka year 1188=A.D. 1266-67. "After defeating his adversaries, he married a Pāṇḍya princess and when 33 years of age (*i.e.*, about A.D. 1299-1300) took possession of Kēraḷa (which he ruled as he did his town of Kōḷamba). He defeated a certain Vīra Pāṇḍya, made the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas subjects to the Kēraḷas, and, at the age of 46 (*i.e.*, about 1312-13) was crowned on the banks of the Vēgavati. He then apparently waged war against Vīra Pāṇḍya, defeated him and drove him into the Koṅkaṇa and from there into the forests, and conquered the northern country. It was in the fourth year of his reign (*i.e.*, about A.D. 1315-16) that he was at Kāñchi.

"The verses which contain this information are followed by a long string of *birudas* of Ravivarman, three of which describe him as 'the regent of the excellent city of Kōḷamba,' 'the Kūpaka universal monarch,' and 'the result of the religious merit of the Kēraḷa country.'" He was a devout worshipper of the feet of Padmanābha (of Trivandram), was very munificent like Karna, upholder of religion, master of the sixty-four *kalās* (arts) and the Bhōja of the south."

In his Śrīraṅgam inscription, which is identical with the Aruḷalapperumāl inscription, Kulaśēkhara calls Raṅga, the god of Śrīraṅgam, also his tutelary deity.

In the same fourth year (*i.e.*, Saturday, the 29th December A. D. 1313) he was also at Tiruvadi and repaired and bathed the central shrine of the famous Śiva temple at that place.

Since the publication of these inscriptions, more sources of information regarding this king have been discovered; these are purely literary compositions which were brought to light by the labours of Paṇḍit Gaṇapati Śāstri, Curator of the Oriental Manuscripts Library in Travancore. One of them, a drama named the *Pradyumnābhyaṇḍayam* is a composition of Ravivarman *alias* Saṅgrāmadhīra. In the prelude to this work, the *sūtradhāra* speaks of the author as follows:—

आर्य ! समादिष्टोऽस्मि सकलकलाकुशलस्य चन्द्रकुलमङ्गलप्रदीपस्य समस्तसामन्तशेखरीक्रियमाणशासनस्य विविधशाखावलम्बनधर्मतरुमूलकन्दस्य प्रणयिजनचिन्तामणेः कोलम्बपुरपरिष्कारस्य देवस्य रविवर्मणः..... केरलदेशकृतपरिणतेः यादववृत्तकुलदेवस्य भगवतः श्रीपद्मनाभस्य यात्रोत्सवे किमपि रूपकमभिनयता वयं (राजपरिषदा) विनोदनीयाः.

Further on he says of the author king:—

अस्ति किल सङ्गीतशास्त्रपारदृश्वना निखिलगुणरत्नरोहणगिरिणा कविजनमयूरकालमेघेन साहित्यविद्याविक्षणेन दक्षिणभोजराजेन महाराजपरमेश्वरेण संग्रामधीरापरनामधेयेन श्रीरविवर्मदेवेन विरचितं प्रद्युम्नाभ्युदयनाटकम् ।.

From the above passage it will be clear that Saṅgrāmadhīra was another name of Ravivarman, a fact which enables us to identify this particular Ravivarman, from among a lot of others who bore the same name which is common to the princes of the Malaināḍu. The name Saṅgrāmadhīra associated with Ravivarman occurs in another work, a commentary by Samudrabandha on the *Alankārasūtras* and the *Alankārasarvasva*. Samudrabandha in stating that he was one of the Paṇḍits of the Court of Ravivarman refers to him thus :—

केरळेध्वस्ति नगरी कोलम्ब इति विश्रुता ।
विभूषयन् पुरीमेनां यदुवंशविभूषिणम् ।
रविवर्मेति विख्यातो राजा शास्ति वसुन्धराम् ॥
यथाकाङ्क्षसि वीक्षितुं गुणरुचे ! चेतः समस्तान् गुणान्
कोलम्बाख्यमुपेहि दक्षिणदिशां सीमन्तरत्नं पुरम् ।

Elsewhere in his work he alludes to his patron as Yadunandana, Yadubhūpati, Kūpaka-bhūpati.

आस्ते यत्र भुजेन कीर्त्तिशशिनः पूर्वाचलेनोद्ध-
नुर्वीमर्णवमेखलां यदुपतिः कल्पद्रुमो जङ्गमः ॥
सङ्ग्रामधीरनुपतिर्भरिधर्मार्दभीरुराहवतः ।
शुश्रूषुर्निगमविदस्तद्वद्विदो भवत्यशुश्रूषुः ॥

The name Saṅgrāmadhīra occurs in several places in this commentary, which makes it certain that it was written in the court of Ravivarman—Saṅgrāmadhīra of our inscription.

The title Dakṣiṇa-Bhōja is not a vain boast; he is the author, as far as we know at present, of at least one good drama, the *Pradyumnābhyaudaya*, and his learning in Saṅskṛit is spoken of very highly by the Paṇḍits of his court and elsewhere, for instance, by Kavibhūṣaṇa, the author of the verses comprising the inscriptions at Śrīraṅgam, Tiruvadi and Conjeevaram. So much about the king Ravivarman as gathered from the inscriptions and literature. The historical events mentioned therein are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The country round Kollam (*vulgo*. Quilon) is called the Jayaśiṅganāḍu and one of the families of the kings of the west coast was known in later times as of the Jayaśiṅga-nāṭṭu mūṭta tiruvaḍis; Āttiṅgal was perhaps the chief place of these later princes. In one of the inscriptions found in Āttiṅgal a lady who calls herself a Kūpaka princess is said to have built a temple for Śiva. This fact also enables us to identify the Āttiṅgal family with the Jayaśiṅganāṭṭu-tiruvaḍis, or the Kūpakas. There is an inscription at Quilon belonging to the reign of another Jayasimha Virakēraḷa, dated in Ko. 671=A.D. 1496, that is, 180 years after Ravivarman (See *Travancore Archæological Series*, Volume II, pp. 26—27, for this inscription). This prince must evidently be a successor in the line of Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra. Finally, by adoption and other relationships and by conquest, the Jayaśiṅganāḍu family merged in course of time but very recently, in the present line of the Travancore Mahārājas.

The Malaināḍu was perhaps under one or two sovereign powers in the earlier period of its history, of which nothing is known at present beyond the mere mention of the name of the Chēras. In the medieval and the later periods the country was split up into a large number of principalities; the chief ones among them seem to have been the Mūshaka country belonging to the Kōlattiri, the Kūpakas of Kollam and the Vēṇāḍu kings of South Travancore. That part of the Malaināḍu north

of Kollam and adjoining the Coimbatore and the Nilgiri Districts and the Mysore Province appears to have been known as the Kēraḷa. Therefore, it is very likely that Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhira subjugated this country and extended his dominions. One of the adversaries mentioned in his inscription as conquered by him should be his neighbour, the Pāṇḍya. The conquest over the Pāṇḍya and the marriage of Ravivarman with the daughter of the Pāṇḍya king took place before the 33rd year of his age, that is, before A.D. 1299-1300. The Pāṇḍya kings who reigned for ten years before A.D. 1300 are Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva (II) whose latest known inscription is dated the 15th year of his reign, which corresponds to A.D. 1290, and Māravarman Kulaśēkharadēva (I) whose 40th year corresponds to A.D. 1308. Either of these kings should have suffered defeat at the hands of Ravivarman and given his daughter in marriage to him (1). Sometime before the beginning of the military achievement of Ravivarman in the Tondaimaṇḍalam the power of the Pāṇḍyas had so far grown that one of them, Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, invaded the Chōḷa country, drove away Rājārāja III and got the ceremony of the anointment of heroes performed in the Muḍigonḍaśōḷapuram; sometime after, feeling pity for the Chōḷa king, he summoned him from his place of hiding and after making him beg for his kingdom conferred it upon him. These events occurred before A.D. 1223; soon after, that is, a few months before A.D. 1231, another misfortune occurred to Rājārāja III; one of his vassals, Kōpperuñjiṅga deposed and imprisoned him in the fort at Śēndamaṅgalam (in South Arcot) and began to rule the Chōḷa country; but Kōpperuñjiṅga was summarily driven out by the generals of the Hoysala Vīra Nārasimhadēva (II), the father-in-law of Rājārāja III, who reinstated the latter on his throne. But the last vestiges of the regular line of the Chōḷas were swept out by the invasion of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. He defeated Rājēndrachōḷa III, son of Rājārāja III, drove out the Hoysala Vīra Sōmanātha (Sōmēśvara) from Kannaṇūr (Samayavaram), expelled Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpaladēva from Kāñchi, defeated the Kākatiya Gaṇapati and extended his conquests as far north as Cuttack and had the ceremony of the anointment of heroes performed at Nellūr (Nellore). In one of the inscriptions of Sundara Pāṇḍya it is distinctly stated that he killed Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpaladēva and at the entreaty of his younger brothers, he conferred the kingdom conquered from him on one of them. (See also *Śēndamīl*, Vol. IV, p. 493). These events should have taken place before A.D. 1259. Then again, Vikrama Pāṇḍya *alias* Bhuvanēkavīra states, in his inscriptions, that he took Kāñchi but did not proceed further north, because, it is stated in the inscription, that his anger was appeased at the sight of the two eyes on the face of Pratāparudra which resembled the two carp fishes, which are the emblems of the Pāṇḍya kings; and that he returned from his northern campaigns, because he did not consider it gallant to attack a princess, that is, the Kākatiya Rudrāmbā (Pratāparudra). Thus the regular line of Chōḷas of the Tamiḷ country had vanished from the political horizon; the Telugu Chōḷas who, assisted by the Kākatiya kings had become masters of the Tondaimaṇḍalam, were suffering from internal dissensions. In the year A.D. 1316, Muppiḍi Nāyaka, the general of the Kākatiya king, Pratāparudra of Ēkaśilānagara (Orangal) entered Kāñchi and installed there a certain Mānavīra, who is identified by Dr. Hultzsch with the Telugu Chōḷa, Manma-Gaṇḍagōpaladēva whose latest known date (2) is, according to Dr. Hultzsch, Ś. 1221 (A.D. 1299) that is, 17 years before the installation of Mānavīra at Kāñchi. Before the coronation of Mānavīra and the latest known date of Manma-Gaṇḍagōpaladēva, Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhira invaded and occupied Kāñchi and was actually crowned in this city in A.D. 1312-13. Dr. Hultzsch concludes from the statement that Muppiḍi 'put to flight the princess of the south' which occurs in verse 3 of the

(1) Or it might be some earlier king like Vikrama Pāṇḍya the opponent of Vīra Pāṇḍya in the wars of succession to the Pāṇḍya throne.

(2) The latest one before his dethronement by his own collaterals Akkana and Bayyana. Perhaps afterwards he was restored to the throne by Muppiḍi and reigned for some time.

inscription (of Muppiḍi) that Saṅgrāmadhīra must have been driven out by the Kākatiya general. Turning to the conquests of Ravivarman, we see that he defeated his neighbour in the east, the Pāṇḍya, and overran the Chōḷamaṇḍalam and the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, which were practically in a state of anarchy or had no fixed or permanent kings, and occupied Kāñchi where he got his coronation celebrated; since he overran the countries of the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas he states that he brought these kings under his subjection.

Some light is thrown on this obscure period of the history of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam from the Telugu literature also.

Tammusiddhi, Manmasiddhi and other Telugu Chōḍas who were the vassals of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III were ruling the country comprising the Nellore, Guntur and other Districts with the town of Nellore as the principal seat of their government. When Manmasiddhi was ruling in Nellore, he was deposed by two brothers, the cousins (*dāyādis*) of Manmasiddhi. His illustrious protege, Tikkana Sōmayāji, the great Telugu poet interceded on his patron's behalf, induced the Kākatiya Pratāparudra Gaṇapati to interest himself in reinstating Manmasiddhi on his throne at Nellore. Pratāparudra Gaṇapati was pleased with Tikkana's pleading and actually replaced Manma on his throne, but placed under his charge a small tract of the country consisting of only 200 villages. The following verses containing the information given above are found in the *Siddhēśvara Charitam* :—

तगुमाट विनु मोक्कधर्मकार्यबु
सूर्यवंशंबुन साबगोंदुनट्टि-
यार्यपूजितवर्युडामन्मसिद्धि-
राजुदानेल्लूरु रमणतो नेल

.....
अक्कनवय्यन लधिकबलिष्ठु-
लकट सिद्धिरायनि बारद्रोळि
दक्किनराज्यंबु तामे येळुचुनु-
नोक्ककासैन जक्कग नीरु
वारल दंडिचि वारि नेल्लूरु
वारिकिप्पुणु मवारणंब्रीति-
ननिन गणपतिराजटल्का कनुचु

.....
वेडलि गणपतियु विजयंबुनकुनु
गुडियाडमल सेन कोलिचि येतेर
वेलनाडु चेरियु वीडेल्लुगाल्लुचि
वेलनाटिराजुनु वेसगेल्चि वानि-
यप्पनंबुल्लुगोनि यटचनि राजु
गुप्पुन नेल्लूरु कूडनेतेंचि-
यक्कनवय्यन नचट सार्धिचि
.....

नेल्लूरप्रजलकुनेर्पुवाटिल्लु-
 जेल्लिचे मन्मनसिद्धिराजुनकु
 नेल्लूरिपट्टु नेर्पुतोगट्टि
 सल्ललितादति समदुर्गमुलनु-
 नरुवदेनिमिदियु नगुपट्टणमुल-
 नरुदोन्दसार्धिचि यामन्मसिद्धि-
 राजुकिच्चियु दनतेजंबु दिशल-
 बूजकेक्कगं घनराजितयशुडु
 घनतटाकंबुदाकट्टिचे नचट-
 गोनकोनि नेल्लूरगोन्नल्लुडि
 मनुमसिद्धिकि राज्यमहिमल्लेप्पे

The passage quoted above in which Tikkana is supposed to be addressing Ganapati is to this effect:—'Please listen to me and do one good act and that is to make the Sūryavamśa once again bright by placing the good Manmasiddhi on his throne at Nellore.... The very powerful Akkana and Bayyana having deposed (Manma)'Siddhirāja are themselves ruling the kingdom. May you be pleased to punish them and restore Manma to his kingdom of Nellore.....Ganapati started out with a large army, reached Velanādu, defeated its king and took possession of the country, fell suddenly upon Nellore and took it from Akkana and Bayyana. To the joy of the people of Nellore, Manma-siddhi was anointed on his throne at Nellore.....'. This event is believed to have taken place somewhere in the reign of the last of the Chōla kings, Rājēndrachōla III : one of Manmasiddhi's inscriptions found at Nandalūr is dated S'.1179, corresponding to the cyclic year Piṅgala and the 13th year of the reign of Vīra Rājēndrachōla (III), whose accession, according to Dr. Kielhorn took place in A.D. 1245-46. The Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya conquered the Chōla kingdom, overthrew the Hoysala Vīra Sōmēśvara and overran the country as far as Cuttack, defeating and driving away Manmasiddhi and the Kākatiya Ganapati. This common catastrophe cemented the friendship between the two kings Manma and Kākatiya Ganapati. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya chose Nellore for commemorating his victory by undergoing the ceremony of the anointment of heroes and victors, because it was the capital of Manmasiddhi who suffered defeat under him (about A.D.1259). After the invasion of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the Kākatiya king and his ally seem to have regained their territories : Vikrama Pāṇḍya tried to get back the possession of the lost territories and does not seem to have succeeded in his attempt ; even the failure is made good for panegyric by the poet who says his (Vikrama's) anger was quenched, because he saw in the two eyes of Rudrāmbā (queen of Ganapati who had then evidently taken up the regency after her husband's death), the two carp fish, the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas ; besides he did not want to fight with a lady.

It was in this confused state of affairs which continued apparently up to A.D. 1300 and odd, that Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra found an opportunity for his aggrandisement in A.D. 1313. Though he was able to overpower the Chōla and the Kākatiya queen temporarily, he appears to have been eventually driven out of Kāñchipura and its surrounding region in A.D. 1316, when Mānavīra was reinstated in his territory by the Kākatiya sovereign through her general Muppiḍi Nāyaka. The conquest and occupation of Kāñchipura by Ravivarman was a mere raid upon the country and nothing more.

The inscription edited below is engraved upon the two faces of a stone lying in the yard of the Śiva temple at Chālaigṛāmaṁ, one of the brāhmaṇa quarters of Trivandram and is in an excellent state of preservation. It stops with the enumeration of the *virudas* of Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra. It is written in the Grantha characters; all the *virudas* are in the Sanskrit language, while the last six lines are Tamil. Saṅgrāmadhīra bears in this inscription the characteristic Pāṇḍya surname Māṇavarman; how he was entitled to it, it is not known. The inscription stops abruptly with the word *yaṇḍu* and the regnal year is not given.

Text.(1)

First face.

1. स्वस्ति श्री [॥*] चन्द्रकुलम्-⁽²⁾
2. गलप्रदीप [॥*] यादवना-
3. रायण [॥*] केरळदेश-]
4. पुण्यपरिणाम [॥*] ना-
5. मान्तरकर्ण [॥*] कूपकसा-
6. वैभौम [॥*] कुलशिखरि
7. प्रतिष्ठापितगरुड-⁽³⁾
8. ज [॥*] कोळम्बपुरवरा-
9. धीश्वर [॥*] श्रीपत्न(म)ना-⁽⁴⁾
10. भपदकमलपरम[॥]
11. राघव⁽⁵⁾ [॥*] प्रणतरा-
12. जप्रतिष्ठाचार्य [॥*]⁽⁶⁾
13. विमतराजबन्धीका-
14. र[॥*] धर्मतरुम्ल[क]-
15. न्द [॥*] स[द्]गुणालं-
16. कार [॥*] चतु[ष्]ष्टिकला-

Second face.

17. वल्लभ [॥*] दक्षिणभो-
18. जराज [॥*] संप्रा-
19. मधीर [॥*] महारा-

(1) From the paper impressions prepared under my supervision.

(2) Read चन्द्रकुल.

(3) Read ध्वज.

(4) Read पद्मनाभ.

(5) Read राघव.

(6) Read प्रतिष्ठाचार्य

20. जाधिराजपरमे-
21. श्वरजयसि[ह]-
22. देवनन्दनश्री[मद्ध]-
23. र्म्ममहार[जर]
24. कोमरा[प]पन्नमर-
25. रान त्रिभुवनचक्र-
26. वर्त्तिकं श्रीकुल-
27. सेकर दे वार्क-
28. कु यारण्ठ

Translation.

Hail! Fortune! The auspicious light of the Moon's race, the Nārāyaṇa among the Yādavas, the result of the religious merit of the Kēraḷa country the Karna under another name, the Kūpaka universal monarch, the establisher of his Garuḍa-banner on the (seven) principal mountains, the regent of the excellent city of Kōḷamba, the devout worshipper of the lotus-feet of the holy Padmanābha, the establisher (in their kingdom) of the kings who bow down before him, the prisoner of kings adverse to him, the root of the tree of religion, the ornament of the virtuous, the master of the sixty-four arts, the king Bhōja of the south, Saṅgrāmadhira (the firm one in battles), the son of the Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Jayasimhadēva, the prosperous and munificent Mahārāja, the king Māṇavarman Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulaśēkharadēva—his (regnal) year.....

No.-9. THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF STHĀṆU RAVI.

Below are edited three copper-plate records written in **Vatṭeḷuttu** characters. Of these two documents belong to the Syrian Christians at Kōṭṭayam and are well-known to the scholars through their editions by Drs. Gundert and Burnell and their reproduction by Mr. Logan in the 2nd Part of his *Malabar District Manual*; one of these is dated in the reign of the king **Sthāṇu Ravi**; the other contains matter which is more or less a continuation of the first, but is fragmentary and wanting in the first part. The alphabet and contents of these two will be discussed in their proper places. The third belongs to the Mūṇḍattumēḷchēri Illam at Tiruvallā and is also of the reign of **Sthāṇu Ravi**. The rapid progress epigraphy has made in the last decade has brought to light several inaccuracies in the edition of Dr. Gundert and others and necessitates the re-editing of the Syrian Christian documents; consequently an attempt is now made to present a fresh edition of these well-known records.

Before proceeding with the regular treatment of the record itself, it will be found interesting to know the strange vicissitudes which these copper-plates have gone through in the past. Captain Charles Swanston has recorded the following about these copper-plates in Vol. 1 (Old Series) of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in January 1833: "About three hundred years ago, the tablets on which are engraved the rights of nobility, and other privileges, granted by the princes of a former age to the Syrian Christians, were deposited by the Bishop of Angamale in the hands of the Portuguese at Cochin, and were lost, to the extreme regret of the whole nation. After the loss of these tablets, the Christians could produce nothing in support of their claims to nobility, except what was handed down by tradition; and it was even doubted whether such grants had ever existed, till the arrival of Colonel Macaulay (now Lieutenant-General Colonel Macanlay) as British Resident in Travancore, who directed an immediate search to be made for the lost tablets, and was fortunate enough to discover them, in the year 1806, to the great joy of the Syrian Church These plates are now in the possession of the College at Cottayam." Captain Swanston does not, however, inform us how and wherefrom the copper-plates were recovered. We know that the Portuguese on their surrender of the fort of Cochin after a valiant defence, were permitted by their besiegers, the Dutch, to quit the fort honourably with their guns and what valuables they chose to carry with them, except those belonging to the church. So, then, they must have left behind the copper-plates entrusted to their care by the Syrian Christians. Similarly, when the Dutch were compelled by the British to enter into terms of capitulation of the fort of Cochin the following was made one of the conditions :—

PROPOSITION OF THE DUTCH IN THE DUTCH LANGUAGE.

"All documents, charters, Resolutions, and other papers, belonging to this Government, will without any search being made of them be delivered over to the Governor, Mr. Van Spall, in order to be carried with him, wherever he may be removed to."

ANSWER OF THE ENGLISH IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.

"All Public documents and papers, must be delivered over to persons, appointed to receive them, but Mr. Van Spall will have authenticated vouchers, of those which may in any way concern himself, during his management of Cochin."

Thus also all the records preserved in the fort of Cochin must certainly have come intact into the hands of the English; therefore, was it possible for Lieutenant-General Macaulay to institute search for the copper-plates said to have been lost and to recover them.

It is stated by Captain Swanston that "these plates are now in the possession of the College at Cottayam." By the College here is meant the Syrian Seminary maintained by the Bishop of the Jacobite Syrians. Once obtained possession of by the Syrians after a lapse of three centuries, the ill-fated set of copper-plates got again split up and a portion of it was lost sight of. Concerning this second loss let me quote from the *Church History of Travancore* of Mr. C. M. Agur, B.A. :—

"These copper-plate grants consisting of six plates fell into the hands of the Portuguese in the 17th century (*sic.*) and were considered lost. But through the endeavours of the British Resident Colonel Macaulay they were recovered in the beginning of this century. After allowing Dr. Buchanan to take facsimiles, Colonel Macaulay handed them over to the Syrian Metropolitan and they remained in his possession till the time of Mar Matthew Athanasius. But during the disputes and civil suits between Mar Thomas Athanasius and Dionysius, the former produced in the Court only 4 of the plates and said that they were all that he had with him. It may be that the other two plates were lost beyond recovery or that they are withheld by interested parties. Unfortunately the missing plates are the first and last plates of the second grant. They are very important because the first plate contains the name of the Sovereign who granted it and the time of granting, and the last plate bears the signatures of witnesses in Pahlavi, Kuffic and Hebrew characters which taxed the energies of great scholars like Burnell, Haug, West and Gundert to decipher.

"The Government Epigraphist of Madras, Dr. Hultzsch, now endeavours to recover the missing plates for being photographed for his *Epigraphica Indica*, and we hope his exertions will be crowned with success."

The set of plates remained split up, as it still is, from the middle of the 19th century till before three months and the first and last plates were missing. The remaining six plates are as usual preserved in the old Seminary at Kōṭṭayam and their existence was known to all. But without the first plate which contained the name of the king, his time and other matters, the remaining plates belonging to the Seminary were useless. By diligent search the first and the last plates were traced out by me in the Palace of His Grace the Most Reverend Mar Titus. II, Mar Thoma, the Bishop of the Reformed or St. Thoma Syrians of Malabar, Tiruvallā, and by the kind courtesy of His Grace, impressions of these were taken. Then His Grace the most Reverend Mar Dionysius was approached for the other plates and His Grace was courteous enough to allow me to take their impressions in his own Press and it is with the impressions thus obtained I give below a fresh edition of the document. I feel bound here to offer my sincere thanks to the two good Bishops for the readiness with which they helped me with the temporary loan of the copper-plates in their respective possessions for the purpose of taking mechanical copies from them.

The document, or more correctly the two documents, under discussion are very remarkable, firstly, because of the history of their wanderings during the past four centuries; secondly, because they are genuine Christian documents of the pre-Portuguese period, of which not a single one has hitherto been available to me either on copper or on stone, in spite of my perseverance in search of them, thirdly, for the historical facts contained in them and fourthly and lastly for the very different and curious interpretations given to several passages by the various editors in the past.

The Kōṭṭayam Syrian Christian plates were first edited by the Rev. Dr. H. Gundert in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIII, part I., pp. 115-142, under the title "Translation and analysis of the ancient documents engraved on copper in the possession of the Syrians and the Jews of Malabar." In the same journal appeared also the contribution of Mr. Kukkil Kelu Nayar on the same copper-plate grants. The contributions of Dr. Gundert on these plates were collected by Mr. Logan in his *Malabar Manual*.

In dealing with the smaller five plates of Kōṭṭayam, Dr. Gundert has supposed them to belong to one and the same set; in doing so, he has overlooked certain glaring evidences which go to show clearly that they constitute really two and not one set, both of which are fragmentary. The first is less fragmentary, however, than the second; the former is wanting in only one half of the signature of the *kōyil-adhikāri*, whereas the latter is wanting by one or two plates at the beginning. I am inclined to believe for the reasons given below that the five plates belong to two sets; the second side of the first plate begins the record in the usual manner with the words *svasti śrī* and ends in the word *vanṇāru*; another plate, bearing writing engraved by the same hand as in the first plate, begins with a *m* which is required to complete the incomplete word *vanṇāru* at the end of the first plate. The matter on the first plate also fits in with that of the second plate. The second plate, that is, the one which begins with a *m*, ends with the signatures of Ayyanaḍiḡal Tiruvaḍi, Vēlkula Sundaraṇ and finally with the first half of the name Viśaiya, perhaps of the *kōyil-adhikāri* Viyaraḡat-tēvar who is often mentioned in No. II of this paper. No. II begins abruptly with the words *iraṇḍu kuḍi* at the beginning of the first side of its (now existing) first plate and runs continuously through the other plates till we reach the end, where we meet with writing in Hebrew and Syriac alphabets. Though Nos. I and II are engraved on different sets of copper-plates they deal with the same subject-matter, that is, the grant of artisans and others to Maruvān Sapir Iśō, as also lands, taxes and privileges.

Dr. Gundert has, on the other hand, taken the first plate of No. I as the first plate, the one beginning with the words *iraṇḍu kuḍi*, that is, plate i of No. II as plate ii, plate ii of No. II as plate iii and plate ii of No. I as plate iv and the plate bearing writing in the Hebrew and Syriac as the last plate. The differences in the writing employed in the two sets must have easily suggested the correct way of grouping the plates into two sets. Anyhow the mistake that has thus been committed does not affect the interpretation in any manner.

The name of the king has been read by Dr. Gundert as *Kō-tTāṇu Iravikkuttaṇ* which he has taken as the *tadbhava* form of Sthāṇu Ravigupta. That this reading is incorrect has already been pointed out by Mr. Venkayya in his paper on the Kōṭṭayam plate of Viyaraḡhava Chakravartti. The correct form of reading this name is, as pointed by him, *Kō-tTāṇu Iravikku taṇ*...there are also a number of other mislections which will be pointed out in their proper places.

No. I.

Inscription No. I, which is older than No. II, is written in fine **Vatteḷuttu** characters of about the latter half of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century A. D. The language of the record is **Tamil**. One peculiarity noticeable in this inscription is the uniform manner in which the final *m* is re-duplicated quite unnecessarily; e.g., *°diruvaḍiyumm-adigārarum*, in ll. 3 and 4; *°padiyumm-ulṭavaittu* in l. 5; *°lavarum-°lakkaiyarum* and *°marumm-ivagaḷ* in l. 7; *kuḍiyumm-ivaṇaivar* and *kāṇamumm-ēṇikkāṇamum* in l. 8, *ponnumm-iravu* and *nāliyummvivanaittum* in ll. 9 and 10; *°lavarumm-orukuḍi* in l. 12; *vanṇārumm-evvagai* in ll. 12 and 13; *marūmm-evvagaip-paṭṭārumm-eppiḷai* *°loliyummm-ivagaḷai* in ll. 17 and 18; and *°lakkikkunmmavarkku* in ll. 25 and 26. Then again the rules of Tamil grammar regarding *saṇḍhi* are observed in this document in a large majority of instances; prominent among them is *Ayyanaḍiḡal + Tiruvaḍi = Ayyanaḍiḡaḍiruvaḍi* occurring in ll. 3 and 6 and *madil + nāyaṇ = madināyaṇ*, occurring in l. 17.

The inscription is dated the fifth year of the reign of the king Sthāṇu Ravi. No more than the bare regnal year is given in the document, which is, as every one knows, utterly insufficient for the calculation of the date of the king's reign; so, the only source for determining the age of the document is its palæography. From the formation of the characters employed herein we may fix the age of the document as the ninth or the earlier part of the tenth century A.D.

The inscription discloses the following interesting facts : namely, that one Īśō Tapīr erected a church named the Tarisāppalli at Kurakkēni-Kollam; the governor of Vēṇāḍu by name Ayyaṇḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi made a gift of a number of families consisting of Īlavars, Īlakkaiyars and Vannāns, to the Church of Tarisā, remitting all taxes due from them. The taxes from which the families made over to the church were exempted are the *talaiikkānam*, *ēnikkānam*, tax payable for renewing the thatchings of the houses, the *mēnippon* from the *Śānraṇs*, the *polippon*, the *iravuchchōru* and the *kuḍa-nāli*. The Īlavars of the families made over to the church were permitted to take their carts to the markets and within the precincts of the fort (*lit.* fort-walls) and ply their trade; a similar permission was also granted to the Vannāns to go about their business in the market and in the fort : neither the *Tiyamālvān* nor the *Madil-nāyan* nor any others were to find any fault with these people; and all complaints against them should be tried solely by the Church people. Ayyaṇḍigaḷ made over these *viḍupērus* to the Tarisāppalli as an *aṭṭippēru* to last as long as the earth, the sun and the moon last.

In the above abstract of the contents of the document I have used a number of words in their original untranslated forms. They are purposely left untranslated, because they cannot be easily rendered in terse, literal and appropriate manner, but their meaning could be brought out in the form of explanatory notes on each of them : these notes are given below.

The word *Īlavar* consists of *Īlam*+*ar*—the people of *Īlam*; and *Īlam* is the old Tamil name of Simhala or Ceylon. At the present day this class of people are known either as *Īlavar* or *Tiyar*; and the latter name is a compound of *Tiyam*+*ar* or *timai*+*ar*. In the former way of breaking up the compound it means the people of *Tiyam*, a *tadbhava* form of the Sanskrit *Dvīpam*, an island, hence Islanders; in the latter case, the compound means bad or inauspicious people. The second mode of viewing the compound is not consistent with the synonym *Īlavar* (= Ceylonese); therefore it might be rejected as untenable; the first meaning fits in with the compound *Tiyam-ālvān* (about which see below). The *Īlavar* were one of the early settlers in India, as the name indicates, from *Īlam* and from the earliest known times have been employed as toddy-drawers. As a toddy drawing caste they are referred to in the Leiden grant of Rājarāja I: the portion of the record mentioning the *Īlavar* reads thus: *ivv-ūr iṭṭa tēngum paṇaiyūm Īlavar ēra perāḍāgavum*, meaning, the cocoanut and palmyra trees planted in this village should not be climbed by the *Īlavar*.

Īlakkaiyar: This word is really unintelligible; it has been taken by Dr. Gundert to refer to "a low caste men or slaves of Simhala" and as such, he states in his translation that eight families of this class of men were also given. But I am inclined to take the word as the feminine of *Īlavar*; for, the inscription says that Ayyaṇḍigaḷ granted "four families of *Īlavar* and eight *Īlakkaiyar* included in these families, thus making up a total of these twelve persons". If *Īlakkaiyars* were but the members belonging to the four families of *Īlavars* it is more probable that *Īlakkaiyar* refers to their women.

Vannān comes from the root *Vannam*, a *prākṛit* form *varṇa*, colour and means a washerman. In Malayāḷam they use *manṇāṇ* instead, which is etymologically a more correct form: *manṇudal* means washing dirt and *manṇāṇ*, (= *manṇuvāṇ*) therefore, means one who washes soiled clothes.

Talaiikkānam is a compound of *talai*+*kānam* of which *talai* in Tamil means fetters as Dr. Gundert has taken; it also denotes the ring made of palmyra fibres which is applied by the *Īlavar* or tree-climbers round the two ankles and with whose grip they are able to climb the trees. *Kānam* is a grain of gram and was used as a measure of weight, as in *aṇḍu-kānam pon danḍap-paḍuvadu*, should be subjected to a fine of five *kānams*. The word *kānam* went on expanding

in connotation from a grain of horse-gram, to a measure equal to its weight, then to a weight of gold equal to its weight and ultimately to payment either as tenant's rent, taxes due from subjects and so on. At present *kānam* in Malabar is used to refer to a kind of land tenure. In the compound *taḷaikkānam* it implies the tax levied on *taḷai*, in other words, on the *Īlavars* who used them in their vocation. It was a kind of professional tax on those engaged in the toddy trade.

Ēṇikkānam is also another tax imposed evidently on the *Īlavars*, on the ladders used by them in climbing trees. Dr. Gundert says that the ladders are used for reaping pepper.

Manai-mēyppān koḷḷum-irai: the first part of the phrase has been read by Dr. Gundert as *Yānai-mēyppān* and therefore translated as "the tax for the elephant feeder." The plate has distinctly *manai* and not *yānai*; and therefore, the phrase means, the tax payable at the time of renewing the thatch of the house.

Mēṇippon is made up of *mēni+pon* and means literally gold for the body. This *mēṇippon* is said to be received from the *Śāṇṇār* or Shanar caste, which is, the same as the *Īlavar* or *Tiyar*. The Tamil word literally means the great one and was perhaps a title assumed by the *Īlavars* much in the same way as *māppillāi*, *Nāyar* and *Mēṇōn*. Even at the present day it is used as a distinct title by the *Īlavar* as for example, *Gōvinda Chānnār* of *Ālamōḍu*. The *mēṇippon* to be collected from *Śāṇṇār* seems to refer to some tax per *mēni*, or, in modern language, per head. This word has been misread by Dr. Gundert as *ēriṇṇon*, which he finds necessary to correct into *ari-ppon* and he then translates it as the 'washgold' and the whole passage *śāṇṇār-māṭṭu mēṇippon* is rendered by him thus: "to the wash gold which the *Chāndān* (great person, sun) is wont to get (*māṭṭu*, book in Tamil, get by ruse in Malayālam). *Śāṇṇār-māṭṭu* in Tamil means simply, from the *Śāṇṇār* and no more: the interpretation of Dr. Gundert is clearly wrong. I have taken *koḷḷum* as understood after *māṭṭu* and every student of Tamil would agree with me in the necessity and propriety of supplying this word.

Polippon, I am unable to understand the exact meaning of this term. *Pol* in the language of inscriptions is the same as *palisai*, interest. Upon what this interest-gold was levied, it is not clear. *Pol* also means a heap and the tax may be upon heaps of paddy, pepper, etc.

The literal meaning of the phrase *iravuchchōru* is night-meal. Certain classes of servants were fed at nights and this right of being fed seems to be referred to here by the word *iravuchchōru*. This custom still exists in some parts of the Tinnevely District.

Kuḍa-nāḷi literally means a pot and a *nāḷi* measure; the dative case ending is understood after *kuḍam*; the correct interpretation will be a *nāḷi* per *kuḍam* and would evidently refer to the custom of a *nāḷi* of liquor being taken away by the authorities from each pot-ful of it. In this connection it will be interesting to compare a similar levy of a *uḷakku* salt on each *kalam* of it that came into or went out of the stores, recorded in an inscription found in *Kanyā-kumāri* temple (Vide *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 163.)

It is not certain if the word occurring at the end of line 10, is to be read as *vārakkōl* as Gundert has done, or as *vārkkōl*, *Pārakkōl* or *Pārkkōl*. If we agree with Gundert in taking the word as *vārakkōl* and give either of the probable meanings of the word *vāram*, namely *urimai* (=propriety) or *paṅgu*, the compound would mean, either the staff of honour or "the share-staff" according to Gundert. I would prefer the former meaning, for, the record enumerates the honours and privileges conferred on *Sapir Iṣō* and a staff of honour, as the silver-staff carried by heralds in Hindu royal courts, is certainly more appropriate to the position of the donee. If, however, we take the reading as *pārkkōl*, the staff (signifying the control) over the earth would be its meaning and is practically the same as the staff of honour or the royal sceptre.

The words *kappān* and *pañcha* or *pañcha-kkaṇḍi* are unknown to either literature or inscriptions. They are met with for the first time only in this record and are unintelligible. Dr. Gundert takes the last word to mean five *kaṇḍies* (pieces of ground or shares). It is more likely meant for a necklace with five strands.

Viḍu-pēru and *Aṭṭippēru* : the word *pēru*, in these compounds is the substantive form of the verb *peru*, to obtain ; and therefore means ' what has been obtained or got possession of '. There are different means by which one may come in possession of a thing, as by free gift, by assignment, mortgage, sale or even by theft. The adjectives *aṭṭi*, *viḍu* etc., prefixed to *pēru* indicate the mode in which the object came to be in the possession of the owner. In the document under consideration, for example, a number of families of various castes were assigned and made over to the Christian settlers to render them service and help. The latter came to have among them or possess these families of men of various castes of Hindu population by assignment or more properly, by the grantor leaving his control over these families in favour of the grantees ; the possession by the leaving of one in favour of another is called *viḍu-pēru*. *Aṭṭi* in *aṭṭippēru* is contracted form of *nīraṭṭippēru* ; *nīraṭṭi* means literally having poured water ; in absolute gifts the ceremony to be observed is to place in the hands of the donee a fee (*ḍakṣhiṇā*, preferably a gold piece) and pour water saying *sampradatte idam na mama na mama*, ' thus given, this is (hereafter) not mine, not mine '. The donee thenceforward is the absolute owner of the object given and he has rights of gift, sale, mortgage, etc. The possession he begins to have over the object after the water-pouring ceremony is known as the *aṭṭippēru*. Hence, it has been defined by the later Malayālam jurists as the absolute conveyance. Compare *aṭṭi kkuḍuttēṇ* occurring in lines 12 and 14 above.

Pallī, is the name applied in earlier times to the *avaidika* places of worship such as those of Buddhists and the Jains and occurs extensively in the names of places such as Tiruchchirāppallī, Tirukkāṭṭupallī, etc. By extension of its connotation it has come to apply to the later *avaidika* places of worship, namely, those of the Muhammadan and the Christians. In the Tamil countries the Muhammadan mosque is known as the *pallivaśal* (the gate of the *pallī* or mosque) and the Christian churches, the *Māḍakōyil* (the Mother's temple). But in the conservative west coast the Muhammadan, the Jewish and the Christian places of worship are called uniformly *pallīs* as in olden times. The land grant made to a *pallī* is called the *pallīchchandam* in all Bauddha and Jaina records of the Tamil country. The termination *pallī* in the name of any place is a sure sign that it will not be profitless to look in it for places or objects of Jaina or Bauddha antiquity. In Trichinopoly (Tiruchchirāppallī) for instance, where there are apparently no traces of Jaina or Bauddha vestiges, I was able to find a pair of foot-prints with an inscription, on the top of the rock situated in the centre of the city, not far from the roof of the Māṭṭibhūtēśvarasvāmī's temple.

Tiyam-ālvāṇ : The exact meaning of this word is not clear ; it is a compound of *tiyam* and *ālvāṇ*. The word *Tiyam-ālvāṇ* should therefore mean the ruler or headman of the Tiyars in the locality. It is similar to *Nāḍu-ālvāṇ* the chief officer of a *nāḍu* or district. The headmen of each community are known on the east coast as the *nāṭṭār* or *mahā-nāṭṭār* ; the institution of the headmen of each community, recognised as the leaders of public opinion regarding social rights and duties, existed so late as the time of Ānandarāṅga Pillai, the Dubāsh of Duplex.

Madināyan. This word is a compound of *maḍil*+*nāyan* in compounding the words, the final *l* of the first word and the initial *n* of the second coalesce, in conformity of the rules of Tamil grammar, into *n*. The latter word *nāyan* is evidently the corruption of the Sanskrit word *nayaka*, the master. *Madināyan* therefore means the master of the fort (*lit.* the fort-walls) and corresponds exactly to the *killēḍār* of the Muhammadan period. In this connection, it is interesting to note

the origin of the class name *Nāyar* of the present day. It is derived by a class of scholars from *Nāgas*, from some fancied relationship between the *nāga* worship etc., common to Malabar. From the compound word noticed above it is evident that *nāyan* (of which *Nāyar* is an honorific plural form; of, *Ayyan*, *Ayyar*; *Rāyan*, *Rāyar*; *Mārān*, *Mārār*; *Paṇikkān*, *Paṇikkār*, &c.) is simply a corrupt form of *nāyakan*; the word is cognate with *nāyani*, *nāyu* and *nāyuḍu* of Telugu and *Nāyak* of Mahrāṭṭi. It is a military distinction maintained even at the present time in the British Military organisation of Indian troops.

Paridu is a vulgar form of *pariśu*. This word exemplifies one of the most important laws of mutation in Dravidian languages: according to this law the sound *d* or *t* changes into *ś* or *ch* and latterly into *y* and rarely, *vice versa*; e.g., *Tam. pittu*, *pichchu*; *vaittu*, *vaichchu*; *Tam. Tēn* (honey) *Kan. Jēnu*: *kāśu*, *kāyu*; *arisi*, *āriyi*, and *ari*; conversely *śākshi*, *tākki*; *santati*, *tandadi*; *Subrahmaṇyan*, *Tuppiramaṇiyan* which is abbreviated into *Tuppan*; *parisu*, *paridu* *Sapir*, *Tapir* and so on.

Sapir Īśōvāl: *சபிர ஈசோவால்*. In Tamil the *passive voice* is rarely used in ordinary language and this is one such instance.

Dēvar. This word is generally employed in inscriptions to denote the supreme king, e.g., *Rājarājadēvar*, *Periyadēvar* (the father of the reigning king), *dēvar-maḍaippalli adum penḍāṭṭi* (the lady who works in the royal kitchen); therefore in this instance it may mean to refer to the king; it also means god, in which case, the passage may mean that god will help those who help this *viḍupēru*.

As regards the exact name of the builder of the Church there is certainly some difficulty. At first, in l. 5, he is called *Īśō dā Tapir* and in all other instances as *Maruvān Sapir Īśō*. The earlier editors have read the name as *Īśōdāta Virāyi*, which is incorrect. There is no *i* at the beginning of the word *Īśō* but a very distinctly written *e*; the latter part of the name may be read in the *Vatṭeluttu* characters, which make no palpable difference between *p* and *v*, as *Tavir* or *Tapir* the initial *ta* of this word has been added by Dr. Gundert to the end of the word *Īśōdā* and the remaining read as *Virāi* (= *virāyi* of the original). As read by Gundert, this name does not fit in with the pronunciation of the name found in l. 25 of No. I. in ll. 5, 49 and 50 of No. II; in all the latter instances, the whole name *Sapir Īśō* is written in Grantha letters which fixes unmistakably the correct pronunciation of this word. In *Īśō dā Tapir*, the words *Sapir* and *Īśō* are made to change places and between them a syllable *dā* is introduced, we do not know whether consciously or unwittingly. From the uniformity of pronunciation of the word in all the other instances, we may consider that the syllable *dā* is something like the Latin *de* (=of) we may therefore suppose that the real name of the person to be *Maruvān Īśō* of *Sapir*; then, in all the other instances, *Sapir Īśō*, must be taken to mean *Sapirkkārārāya* or *Sapir-vāśyaya Īśō* meaning *Īśō*, the native or resident of *Sapir*; *Maruvān* is perhaps an honorific prefix like the Syrian *Mār* prefixed to the names of Bishops. *Tapir* is the corrupt form, like *paridu* (= *pariśu*) and *tandadi* (= *santati*) of *Sapir*. Consequently, *Īśō dā Tapir*, is the same as *Sapir Īśō* or *Īśō* as found in the latter part of the inscriptions Nos. I & II.

Kurakkēni-kkollam is the same as the modern Quilon. One of the inscriptions found in Quilon calls it distinctly by the name, *Kurakkēni-kkollam*. The document under discussion and No. II mention two persons, the *Punnaittalai-pati* and the *Āṇaikkūḍipati* and they are, from the contexts, seen to be members of the Christian Community settled down at Kollam. *Punnaittala* and *Āṇaikkūḍi* seem to be the house-names of two families, the heads of which appear to have been the leaders of the then Christian Community of Quilon.

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From the concession granted here to the *Īlavars* and *Vanṇārs* made over as the dependents to the Tarisāppalli, it is evident that the other *Īlavars* and *Vanṇārs* were prohibited from enjoying the same privileges ; that is, the latter were, as in modern times, shut out from the privileges which their brethren who joined Christianity were given to enjoy by the active cognisance of the kings and chieftains of the West Coast. These political heads were implacable in their harsh treatment of the so-called "untouchables" so long as they remained brother-Hindus but the moment the untouchables became converts to alien faiths such as Christianity or Muhammadanism, they were recognised as of castes which may approach very near but not touch, a high-caste Hindu ; they may also go as far as the *prākāra* wall (*madil*) of a Hindu temple but not enter it ; these concessions are not shown to such of those untouchables who, out of sheer love for or regard to their ancestral faith, Hinduism, still stick fast to it. This illogical behaviour of the kings and chieftains of Malabar, inculcated to their ancestors by the priestly class, the Nambūdiris, and blindly followed to this day by them, is a source of great misfortune to the cause of Hinduism, and an equally great good fortune to Christianity of which innumerable missions are actively at work in Malabar and claim daily large mass of the "untouchable" Hindu population as theirs.

Text.

First Plate : Second Side.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி [||*] கோத்தாணு இரவிக்குத் தன் பலநூறுயிரத்தாண்டும் மறுகுதலை-
2. ச்சிறந் தடிப்படுத்தாளாநின்ற யாண்டுள்ச்⁽¹⁾ செல்லாநின்ற யா-
3. ண்டைந்த [||*] இவ்வாண்டு வேணுடு வாழ்கின்ற அய்யனாகடிருவடியும்-
4. மதிகாரரும் பிரகிருதியும் [ப]ணி. [க...யும்]மஞ்சவண்ணமும் புண்ணைத்த-
5. லைப் பதியும் முள்வைத்துக் குரக்கேணிக் கொல்லத்து எடோடாதிராயி செ-
6. ய்வித்த தருஸாப்பள்ளிக்கு ஐய்யனடி⁽²⁾கடிருவடி குடுத்த விடுபெறவது [||*]
நா-
7. லுகடி⁽³⁾ ஈழவரும்மக்குடிக்கேறும் மீழ்க்கைய ரெண்மரும்மவகள்⁽⁴⁾ பந்-
நிருவ-
8. ருமொரு வண்ணாக்குடியும் மிவ்வனைவர்க்குந் தனைக்காணமும் மேணிக்
காணமும் ம-
9. னை மேய்ப்பாண்கொள்ளுமிறையுஞ் சான்றான்மாட்டுமேணிப்பொன்னும்
பொலிப்பொன்னு-
10. ப்மிரவ்சோறுங் குடநாழியும் மிவ்வனைத்துங் கொள்ளப்பெறார் [||*]
பார்க்கோ-

(1) The rules of *sandhi* require this to be read as யாண்டுட்° ; தன் பலநூறுயிரத்தாண்டு means literally the king's own hundreds of thousands of years ; it is practically equivalent to 'of his reign'. I have read the passage as பல நூறுயிரத்தாண்டு and not பலநூறுயிரத்தாண்டி, because the author of this document uses *sandhi* in almost all instances where it is required and if he had meant it to be read as பலநூறுயிரத்தாண்டி, he would certainly have applied the rules of *sandhi* and written it பன்னூறுயிரத்தாண்டு ; since he has employed ல in பல I am inclined to take that he meant the phrase to be read பலநூறுயிரத்தாண்டு.

(2) Read அய்யனடிகள் ; Dr. Gundert's reading is *Sēyṇṇaḍiga-ḍiruvadiyūm* ; there is a distinctly written *ai* at the beginning of the word.

(3) Dr. Gundert reads this as *anḍiṅguḍi* which gives no meaning.

(4) Read இவர்கள் ; Dr. Gundert reads this as வந்நீருபமொரு.

11. லுங்கப்பானும் பைஞ்சக்கண்டியும் முன்னம் பெற்றுடையன் நானும் விடு-
12. பேறாக அட்டிக்குத்தேனிந் நானுகுடி ஈழவரும் மொ [ரு] குடி வண்ணாரு-

Second Plate: First Side.

13. ம் [||*] மெவ்வகைப்பட்ட இறையுந் த [ரி] ஸாப்பள்ளியார்க்கு விடு-
14. பேறாகச் செப்புப் பத்திரஞ் செய்தட்டிக் குடுத்தேன் [||*] இ-
15. வ்விழவர் தம்வண்டி குணந்தங்⁽¹⁾ காடியிலும் மதிலிலும் வியாபரிக்கப் பெறுவர் [||*] வண்-
16. னானும் வந்தங்காடியிலும் மதிலிலும் வந்து⁽²⁾ தன் பணி
17. செய்துகொள்ளப் பெறுந் [||*] தீயமாள்வானும் மதினானும் மற்-
18. றும் மெவ்வகைப்பட்டாரும் மெப்பிழை சொல்லியும் மிவக-
19. னைத்தமொறப் பெறார் [||*] இவகளைப்⁽³⁾ பிழை செய்யிலும் ப-
20. ள்ளியாரே (ய்) ஆரா [ய்*] ந்துகொள்ளப் பெறுவர் [||*] உலகுஞ் சந்திரா-

Second Plate: Second Side.

21. தித்தரும் உள்ள நானைல்⁽⁴⁾ லாஞ் செப்புப் பத்திரத்தி-
22. ல் பட்டபரிது⁽⁵⁾ விடுபேறு அட்டிப்பேறாக அட்-
23. டிக்குத்தேன் [||*] இப்பரிது⁽⁵⁾ விடுபேறு அட்டிப்பேறாக
24. அய்யனடிக்கடிருவடியால் தீஸாப்பள்ளிக்கு அட்டு வி-
25. (த்)த்துக் குத்தான் மருவான் ஸவீரீஸோ [||*] இது காத்திலக்கில-
26. கைகிக்கும்⁽⁶⁾ மவர்க்குத் தேவரேயனுக்கிர⁽⁷⁾ மஞ்⁽⁷⁾ செய்வாராக [||*] அ-
27. ய் [ய்*] நெழுத்து ||- வேள்குல சுந்தரனுக்கு மொக்கும் ||- விசைய-⁽⁸⁾

(Incomplete).

Translation.

Of all the hundreds of thousands of years which have become excellent to the king Tāṇu Iravi by their rotation (or by their coming across the life of the king) ⁽⁹⁾ and (during which) he

(1) Read கொணர்ந்து.

(2) This second வந்து is redundant.

(3) Read இவர்கள். Dr. Gundert reads this as வந்நீருமொரு.

(4) Read நானெல்லாம்.

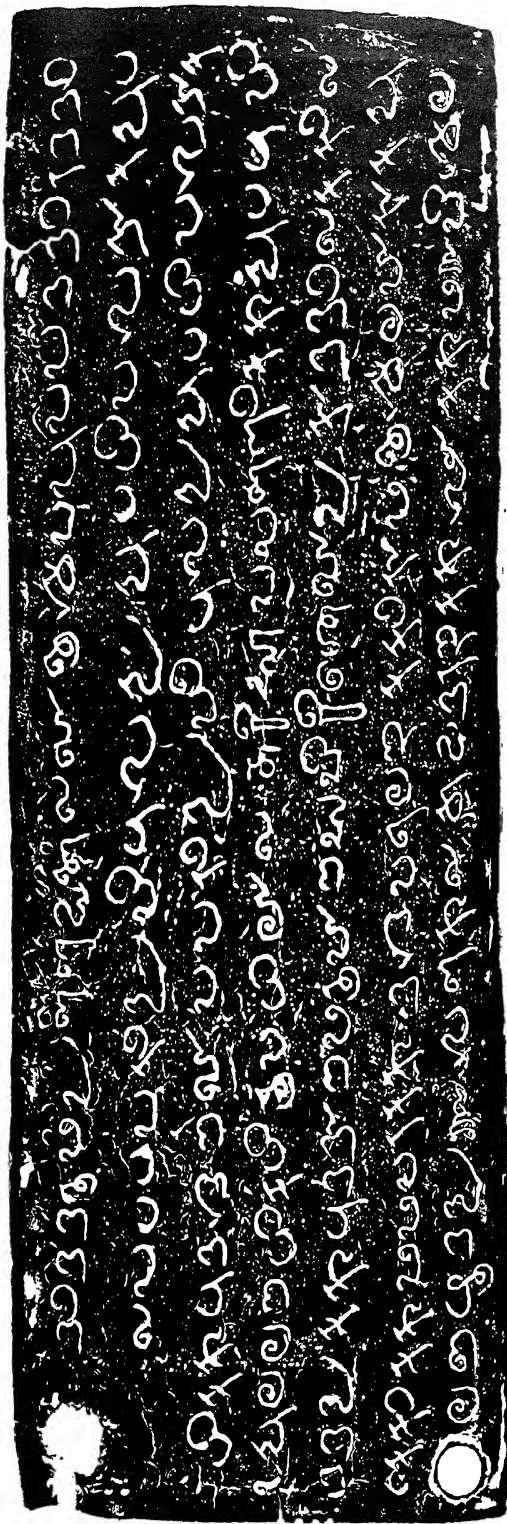
(5) Read பரிசு.

(6) Read °லக்கிக்கும்; the letters லகைகி are redundant and engraved by mistake.

(7) Read °யனுக்கிரகஞ்°.

(8) Perhaps விசையராகவ தேவன் or °தேவனெழுத்து, or °தேவனுக்கு மொக்கும்.

(9) மறுகுதல் = சுழல், rotating; also குறுக்கிடுதல் = to come across one's way. In the latter sense it occurs in *Śilappadigāram* in the passage: 'ஆரிடை யுழந்த மாதரை நோக்கிக் கொடுவரி மறுகுத் குடினாகுப்பிடும்', புறஞ்சேரியிறுத்தகாதை, il. 30-31. 'The tiger will come across (the path of or directly in front of) the women tired by their long journey; the owls will (also) make noise'. மறுகுதலைச் சிறந்தடிப்படுத்து cannot be translated as 'treading under foot hostile heads' as has been done by Dr. Gundert.



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

SCALE: SAME SIZE.

Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

TIRUVALLA PLATE OF STHANU RAVI. No. III.



SCALE O. 5.

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co, Madras.



8.

had been ruling (the earth by) keeping (it) under his feet (1) (that is, making it subordinate to him, (2) —(of these years) the fifth which is current. In this year, while Ayyanaḍiḡal Tiruvaḍi, who was governing the Vēṇāḍu (3) was in assembly with the *Adigārār*, the *Prakṛiti*, the.....the *Aṇḍu-vanṇam* and the *Puṇṇaittalaip-pati*, the *viḍupēru* which was given by Ayyanaḍiḡal Tiruvaḍi to the Tarisāppalli which was constructed by Eṣō dā Tapīr (4) himself at Kurakkōṇi Kollam, was (as follows) :—

Four families of *Īlavār* and eight *Īlakkaiyar* belonging to these families, (thus) making twelve (in number) and one family of *Vanṇār*: the *talaiikkāṇam*, the *ēṇikkāṇam*, the tax levied on thatching houses, the (body tax) poll-tax received from the *Sāṇṇāṇ*, the *polippon*; the *iravuchchōru* and the *kudā nāḷi*, all these, they (the government officials) are not entitled to collect (from the families handed over to the Tarisāppalli).

I, who have received before the *pārkkōl*, *kappāṇ* and *pancha-kkaṇḍi*, I have given these four families of *Īlavars* and one of *Vanṇāns* as *viḍu-pēru* by the pouring of water. I have (also) given, as *viḍu-pēru*, by the pouring of water the deed (of grant engraved) on copper, of every kind of tax to the people of the Tarisāppalli.

These *Īlavars* may (or are permitted to) bring their carts into the market and within the (fort) walls and ply their trade. The washerman also may, by coming into the market and within the (fort) walls, do his work. (5) The *Tiyam-āḷvāṇ* and the *Madil-ṇāyāṇ* and whatever sort of other people, should not, by imputing to these any (kind of) mistakes, cause any disturbance

(1) அடிப்படுத்தல் = Making a thing to take refuge under one's feet; subordinating, subjugating, converting to one's own faith and taking under one's protection.

(2) Dr. Gundert translates this passage thus: "In the time (literally, year) of Perumāḷ (Oḡ, King, or Gō) Sthānu Ravi Gupta, who now rules gloriously for many 100,000 years, treading under foot hostile kings,....." No mention of Perumāḷ is found in the original; how he introduces this word in the translation is not evident; he leaves off *prakṛiti*, etc., from the translation. Again, he appears at first to make Sthānu Ravi himself the donor, by translating, "under the concurrence of His Excellency (?) the Ayyan Adigal, governing the Vēṇāḍu," but strangely enough, he states further below, "the following grant of a free-hold has been given by His Excellency the Ayyan Adigal.....".

The occurrence of the word *Gupta* in the translation is accountable for the mislection of Dr. Gundert of the passage தானு இரவிக்குத் தன் into தானு இரவிக்குத்தன் which is taken to be the same as தானு இரவிக்குத்தன்.

(3) நாடுவாழ்த்தல் : compare, "குறையலூர்வாழி = திருக்குறையலூரை அவதாரஸ்தலமாக வடையவராய், அதுவாழும்படி அதை நோக்குகிற ராஜாவென்னுதல்."

Commentary on the Periya-Tirumoli of Tirumaṅgaiyālṅvār by Periyavācchan-pillai.

(4) The name of the donee has been read as Eṣōdāta Virāi, which ought, as has been pointed out, to be read as Eṣō dā Tavīr-āyi; the word *āyi* is the same as *āgi*; with this ending the phrase Eṣō dā Tapīr āyi means Eṣō dā Tapīr (tāṇ-taṇṇō) āyi, Eṣō dā Tapīr by himself; hence the reading *Virāi* has no justification.

(5) பெறும் : this usage is exactly similar to the modern Malayāḷam usage; what is neuter in Tamil, such as பெறும், வரும், etc., is employed alike in connection with the masculine, the feminine and neuter nouns and pronouns, singular and plural, in the modern Malayāḷam thus :—
ராமன், லக்ஷ்மி, பசு; பிராமணர், அச்சுமார், பசுக்கள்; அவன், அவள், அது; அவர்கள் and அவை, பெறும், வரும், &c.

(to them). (1) Even should these (people) commit any mistakes, (such mistakes) should be enquired into by the members of the *Pallī*. (2)

I gave the items of the *viḍu-pēru* detailed in the copper document as an *aṭṭipperu* (to the *Tarisāppalli*) to last as many days as the earth, the sun and the moon last. The *viḍu-pēru* containing these conditions was caused to be given to the *Tarisāppalli* as an *aṭṭippēru* by Ayyanadigaḷ. Tiruvaḍi through (the efforts of) Maruvān Sapīr Īśō. God (or the king) himself would bless (or show his grace) to those who guard and protect this (the *viḍu-pēru*). (This is) the writing of Ayyan. (This is) agreeable to Vēḷkulasundara also. Viśai

No. II.

This inscription is engraved on three plates, of which the first two now belong to the old Syrian Christian Seminary at Kōṭṭayam and the last one to the Bishop of the Reformed or the Mar Thoma Syrian Christians at Tiruvallā. The first two plates contain the Tamil portion of the document in Vaṭṭeḷuttu and end with the signatures of the donor and his officers in an archaic form Nāgarī (?); the last plate bears on both of its sides signatures of witnesses (?) in what according to Haug, is said to be three different scripts and in three different languages, namely, Pahlavi, Kufic and Hebrew respectively. The Vaṭṭeḷuttu of this record appears to be of a later date, but since the substance of it is apparently of the same period as No. I, we have to take No. II as a copy of an older document of almost the same age as No. I. As mentioned above, No. II is a fragmentary record wanting in its first part. The peculiarity of reduplicating the final *m* of the conjunctive particle *um* is repeated in this inscription also; e. g., °*vilaiyum-mulai-vilaiyum* in l. 19. The existing portion of the inscription begins with an enumeration of the gift to the *Tarisāppalli* of some additional families of professional men thus :—

- (1) two families of.....
- (2) one of Tachechar (carpenters).
- (3) four families of Vellālar for farming the lands belonging to the church.

These, (perhaps meaning only the Vellālar), are required to sow all kinds of seeds and plant all trees just as they were doing before for the king, and to pay the taxes, &c., to the king, and supply to the church the oil and other articles required for its use without any remissness.

The land that was granted to the *Tarisāppalli* constructed by Maruvān Sapīr Īśō, who founded the city of Quilon, was bounded on the east by the arable land (*vayalk-kāḍu*); on the south-east by the back-water (*kāyil*) and the (fort) wall which has in it the small gateway; on the west by the sea; on the north by the garden known as the *Tōraṇa-ttōṭṭam* and on the north-east by the garden belonging to Aṇḍilaṇ of the Puṇṇaitalai house. These boundaries of this land were fixed by the ceremony of leading a female-elephant round it (*piḍi-naḍatti*) and was granted by Ayyanadigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi governor of the lesser half (of Vēṇāḍu) in consultation with Viyarāgattēvar (= Vijayarāghava Dēvar) the *kōyil-aḍigāri*, that is, the adviser to the king (*lit.* the agent of the palace), and others. The donors further ordered that no one should accuse the

- (1) The reading here ought to be தடுமாற்றப்பெருர், because it goes with இவகளை.

(2) Regarding the pronunciation in ancient times in the Tamil countries and in the Malayālam of the present day of the words ending in *ē* and *ai*, see my article in *Sendamīl*, Vol. IV pp. 399-401. They are sounded as if there was a *y* at the end: here, பள்ளியாரேய் as it was actually pronounced then. In the present day Malayālam அவ்விடத்திலே (in that place, there, or the honoured person spoken to) with the dative suffix *ku* is written அவ்விடத்திலேய்க்கு instead of அவ்விடத்திலேக்கு and the intruding *y* is conjuncted with the succeeding *kku*, thus, *ykkku*.

foreign settlers and their dependants of any misdeed; if such misdeeds were actually perpetrated by any of them they should be tried only by the church-men and punished. The members of the community known as the Six Hundred (*arunūrruvar*), the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam were enjoined to do everything in their power for the good of the church and its land, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the copper plate document, as long as the earth, the sun and the moon endure.

Again, the *viḍupēru* granted to the church-people by Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi, in consultation with Viyarāgattēvar, the *kōyiladiḡāri* and others, were :—

- (1)..... (This portion is damaged and the remaining passage is not intelligible).
- (2) No poll-tax should be levied on the slaves kept by the church authorities.
- (3) The church-men might collect eight *kāśus* (a kind of coin) during the passage into or out of the jurisdiction of the church (?) of merchandise brought in loads (*vāyinaṁ*) by land (?) and four *kāśus* per boat every time it came in or went out of the harbour (*veḍiyilum* ?)
- (4) Customs duty should be levied on all dutiable articles only in their presence and with their co-operation.

(5) The fixing of the prices of these commodities and every other business of the king (perhaps only those pertaining to trade and not his private business) should be done only with the help of the people of the church.

(6) The customs collected day after day should be taken care of by the members of the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam.

(7) Whatever portion of the land, which was situated within the four gates (of the fort or palace-grounds) and which was treated as not required for the use (of the palace, *vilakkum-bhūmi*) and therefore rented out to farmers,—the king's dues (*kōppadavāram*) on such land should be collected by the palace (agents) and the dues of the *Patis* (the Punnaittalaippati, and the Pūlaikkudippati, the *patippadavāram*), by the members of the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam (conjointly).

(8) On auspicious occasions such as marriage, etc., these people were permitted to enjoy the seventy-two *viḍupērus* such as the carrying of earth and water required for the ceremonies on elephants (*āṇaimēl-maṇṇunirum*).

All these *viḍupērus* were granted to the church of Tarisā by Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi, after due consultation with the *kōyil-adiḡāri*, Viyarāgattēvar, the *Prakṛitiyār*, the *Arunūrruvar*, the Punnaittalaippati and the Pūlaikkudippati, for enjoyment in the manner described in the copper-plates as long as the earth, the moon and the sun last.

If any complaints arose among the Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam peoples and others the former two should stop the *ulgu* and *tulā-kkūli* on the merchandise that were exported to the countries beyond the king's realm, and the differences settled amicably between them and the others, their aggressors.

If there were mistakes in their own conduct, the faults should be enquired into conjointly by the Maṇigrāmam Añjuvaṇṇam and the two *patis*; and whatever conclusions they arrived at should be final.

Sapīr Īśō, was bound to make over the weighment-charges to the church, by virtue of his receipt of the *pārkkōl* and the *pañcha-kaṇḍi* on behalf of the church. This privilege was also granted to him as an *aṭṭippēru* to last till eternity. So much about the contents of the actual document. Then follow what appear to be the signatures of the donors which are engraved

in the last line on the second side of the second plate. The third plate contains on both sides writing in the Pahlavi, Hebrew and other alphabets.

This document also is full of unintelligible words and phrases and it is therefore necessary to give short notes on such words and phrases below, before attempting a regular translation of the whole inscription.

Kārālar and *Kārāṇmai*. These words are derived from the same root and are very closely related to each other. One of the Tamil dictionaries gives the meaning of the first of these words curtly as the *śūdras* or the *bhūvaiśyas* and omits any mention about their origin. The Malayālam dictionary of Dr. Gundert contains the explanation of the word as it is current in the Malayālam language; it states that *kārālar* means workers, agents, temple-servants (generally) and tenants who hold the land for a long series of years; so, possessors of a free-hold; and *kārāṇmai* or *kārāyṁma* as it is pronounced in modern Malayālam, is, according to Gundert, the office of a *kārālaṇ*, a freehold. The ancient Tamil dictionary, the *Divākara-Nighaṇṭu* has

வளமையர் வேளாளர், மண்மகட்புதல்வர்,
வார்த்தைத்தொழிலோர், வண்களமருழவர்,
சேர்த்தவேரின் வாழ்நர், காராளர்.

which means, 'the names of *kārālar* are *vaḷamaiyār* (those that work for bringing about fertility), *Vēlālar*, sons of the earth-goddess (*bhūmagal-pudalvar*) those engaged in words (*vārttaittolilōr*, poets?), workers in fields (*kaḷamar*), tillers of soil (*uḷavar*) and those who live by the plough (*sirttav* = *ēriṇ vāḷṇar*.)

The *Piṅgalandai-Nighaṇṭu* says that the names of the people of the *maruda-nilam*,—that is, the flat country with fine irrigation facilities, where the chief agricultural produce is paddy,—are *kaḷamar*, *uḷavar*, *kaḍaiṇar*, *śilādar*, *maḷḷar* and *meḷiyar* (those who employ the plough in their business). From these two authoritative sources we learn that *kārālar* are the inhabitants of the tract of river-irrigated land, who are employed in paddy and other cultivation. The etymological meaning of the word *kārālar* is 'those that rule the clouds'; from this, the connotation extended to those who work with water and those that are firmly attached to the duties of tilling and cultivating the soil of the *marudanilam*. If a family takes a lease or binds itself to be the cultivators, of a plot of land there is no reason to eject it from their lease until it is found unsatisfactory; so, the family may continue to be the tenants of that land from generation to generation, and be systematically paying to the landlord its dues. That such a state of things existed throughout the Dravidian countries in earlier times, and is still current in Malabar is patent from the more restricted meaning, 'the holder of a free-hold' which the word *kārālar* possesses now in Malayālam. Such free-holds were granted to the servants of temples for fixed services and from these circumstances the meaning of the word became still more narrow in Malabar and began to signify a temple-servant.

Kaḍam appears to be an older or perhaps also a dialectic form of *kaḍan* and is from the same root as the word *kaḍamai* and means a debt, an obligation or a due.

Samaittal = *amaiital*, establishing, setting up or preparing: in this document it means established.

The word *kaṇḍu* affixed to such words as *nagaram*, *kōyil*, etc., has a special meaning, namely, to found, to build anew or to make, as in '*nuṇ-vaṇai-kkammiyar kāṇḍa marabiṇa*' (*Śilappadīyaṁ*, *Indra-vilav-ūr-eṭutta kēḍai*, l. 106), and means 'not done by workmen of great skill' also in phrases like *kōyil-kulaṇ-kāṇḍa*, meaning to construct a temple, a tank, etc. In this sense the word *kāṇḍal* is used in *Śoṇṇa-varai pōl tiruk-kōpuramūn-gāṇḍat-tudiy-iḍaiyūy upāṇa-muda*

tuḍakkinnāṇē (Teṅkāśi Ins. See *Trav. Arch. Series*, Volume I, p. 96.), 'to build the beautiful gōpura, like a mountain of gold, oh ' damsel who has a waist resembling the *tuḍi* (*ḍamaru*, a kind of drum) ! (the king Parākrama Pāṇḍya) began from the *upāna* (the base)'. In all other instances *kāṇḍal* means simply, seeing, finding out. If the text of our inscription uses this word in the first and less frequently occurring sense, we have to understand that the 'city' of Kurakkēṇi-kkollam was founded by Maruvān Sapīr Īśō and consequently, the Kollam era, which records no other event but the founding of the town of Quilon (1), should perpetuate the landing in and occupation and extension of the town of Kollam. If such an assumption is correct at all, it would drive us to the conclusion that the exact date of the settlement of Sapīr Īśō at Kollam should be the first day of the month Āvaṇi (Chingam) of A.D. 825; and, then, the word *nīr ēṇṇa* would mean, he who received the water (poured in token of *aṭṭippēru*) in his hands. No doubt, the phrase *innagarai-gaṇḍu nīrēṇṇa* could very well refer to the founding of the city of Quilon.

Tariśāppalli. The following interesting note of the Rev. Peet (of Māvēlikkara) on *Tariśā* is appended to the paper of Dr. Gundert:—"Dharyyāyikkal (opposed to Maṇigrāmakkārs), steadfast confessors, exist still in S. Travancore, have their ceremonies conducted by Syrian priests and differ from the Nazranies merely only in their preserving the hair tuft". On this the Rev. Taylor remarks, "I see no reason, to give up my former conjecture as to the identity of *dharyya* and the *Tariśā* of the inscriptions.....I find in John de Monte Corvino's travels that the Nestorians in China and Tartary were called 'Tariśū', the word is there spoken of as of Mongolian etymology. Might it not be derived from Tarsus, since the heads of the Nestorians (such as Diodor of Tarsus) were from Cilicia and the whole sect may have affected to derive their origin from Paul's birth place?"

Piḍi-sūlḍal: This is an old institution and is mentioned in the Leiden and the Aṅbil grants of the Chōḷa kings Rājēndrachōḷa and Sundarachōḷa respectively. In the former the passage referring to this custom reads *karinī-parikramaṇa-vispashṭa-sīma-chatusṭṭayam*, and *piḍi-sūlḍu piḍāgai naḍandu*, passages which are translated into 'whose boundaries were clearly traced by the circuit of a female elephant' and 'making the elephant walk round the plot of ground and defining the extent of the land'; in the Aṅbil plates we read '*ibhi-parita-sīma*', land circuted by a female elephant. The ceremony involved in this custom appears to be to let loose a female elephant and to carefully note the path she pursues and fix this as the boundary of the land which is to be granted. The extent of land enclosed by the path of the elephant is called the *ibhi-parita-sīma* or *piḍi-sūlḍa nīlam*.

Añjuvaṇṇam, *Maṇigrāmam* and the *Arunūrruvar*: These three words have given the greatest trouble to the translators. Ellis takes *Añjuvaṇṇam* to mean the 'five degrees of legitimate title', while Gundert understands it as 'the possessor of the five colours' and later on he corrects this notion of his and states that it means one of the four emigrated merchant tribes. In support of this latter interpretation he quotes the *Payyanūr Paṭṭōla*, an ancient Malayalam poem thus:

Chāvālarai-ppōlē nī agala-ppōvūm
Changātam vēṇum perigay-ippōl
kōvatala-chettī añjuvaṇṇam

(1) In all ancient inscriptions in which the Kollam era is quoted, the expression *Kollam tōṇṇi* occurs before the number of years of that era; thus in the inscription of Śrīvallavaṅḍōdai (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII,) we read *Kollam tōṇṇi nūṇṇu-nūṇṇātt-onḍadām-aṇḍu*, which means the year one hundred and forty-nine after Kollam appeared (or came into existence). This usage clearly indicates the coming into existence (prominently) of the city of Kollam.

kūṭṭam maṇikkirāmattār makka!
 nammaḷāl nālu nagarattilum
 nal-are kkōkudichehērnōr.

that is, 'strong guards are required—take the children of Gōvatala-cheṭṭi, of Añjuvaṇṇam and of the Maṇigrāmam, people who, together with ourselves, are the four (classes of) colonists in the four towns'. The later opinion of Gundert therefore is that Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam are two different trading communities of foreign merchants. Dr. Hultzsch translates the word Añjuvaṇṇam and *Añjuvaṇṇa-ppēru* into the village of Añjuvaṇṇam and the revenue from the (village of) Añjuvaṇṇam. From the fact that Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam were considered two different trading bodies, Dr. Gundert and following him Dr. Burnell and others understood Añjuvaṇṇam referred to the colony of the Jews and Maṇigrāmam to that of the Christians; further they supposed that the Jewish colony came into existence by the grant of the Cochin plates and the Christian settlement by the grant of the Kōṭṭayam plates of the reign of Vīrarāghava Chakravartti. That this supposition is quite incorrect was pointed out by the late Mr. Venkayya:—"From the extracts and from the references to *Payyanūr paṭṭōla* it appears that Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam were semi-independent trading corporations like the Vaḷaṇjiyar.....There is nothing either in the Cochin grant or the subjoined inscription (that of Vīrarāghava Chakravartti) to show that Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam were, as was believed by Dr. Gundert and others, Jewish and Christian principalities respectively. It was supposed by Dr. Burnell that the plates of Vīrarāghava created the principality of Maṇigrāmam and the Cochin plates that of Añjuvaṇṇam and consequently the existence of these two grants is presupposed by the plates of Sthānu Ravi which mentions both Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam very often. The Cochin plates did not create Añjuvaṇṇam but conferred the honour and privileges connected therewith to a Jew named Joseph Rabban. Similarly the rights and honours associated with the other corporation, Maṇigrāmam, were bestowed at a later period on Ravi-kkoṭṭan. Therefore Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam must have existed as institutions even before the earliest of these three copper-plates was issued." The opinion of Mr. Venkayya is the one best suited to the context of all the records in which the word Añjuvaṇṇam occurs. Literally it means five colours and by extension of its connotation, five castes. From the two Kōṭṭayam plates we learn that five castes contributed to the bulk of converts to Christianity and these were Īlavār, Tachchar, Vellāḷar, Vaṇṇār and one more which is not legible in the inscription. These, in all probability, formed the Añjuvaṇṇattār.

As regards the word Maṇigrāmam, Dr. Burnell and others understood it to mean the Manichean followers of Maruvān Sapīr Īsō. Rev. Peet writes about the Maṇigrāmakkārar thus:—"Maṇigrāmam is the name of a class of Christians who relapsed into heathenism through the influence of a sorcerer (Mānikkavāchakar). Some of that class are still found near Quilon. Each individual is called a *maṇi* (in native books), a jewel, on account of his apostacy and the whole of them constitutes now a subdivision of the Śūdras." On this the Rev. Taylor comments "I venture the conjecture that they were disciples of Mani, a colony of Manichaens, such as the Arabian travellers found in Ceylon." The word Maṇigrāmam occurs in one of the inscriptions of the reign of Rājākēsarivarman in Tiruvellaḷai near Trichinopoly. The passage runs thus:—*Oru brāhmaṇaṇai uṭṭuvīdāga Uraiyūr Maṇigrāmattu Nārāyaṇaṇ Nāchchan...vachcha poṇ.....* Here it does not appear to convey the meaning given above, namely, a Christian colony. Anyhow, the word in all the documents under notice clearly indicates a close alliance of the Maṇigrāmakkārs with the Christian Sapīr Īsō and therefore were likely themselves Christians.

From the fact that the Añjuvaṇṇakkārs and the Maṇigrāmakkārs observed the ceremony of *anikurārpaṇa* during their marriages it would appear that they still continued to be Hindus, though they served the Christians. It is quite likely that some of those families which were

made over to the Christian merchant prince, Maruvān Sapir Īsō, did not become Christians at all, but remaining Hindus they served their new masters, the Christians, and on that account they became degraded in the eyes of their castemen. This last supposition might account for the existence at present of a sect of Śūdras known as the Maṇigrāmakkār, who are said to be looked down by the other Śūdras as their inferiors.

Arunirruvar may or may not be Christians. But in all probability it refers to a community of six hundred persons who were holding control over the affairs of a particular *nāḍu* or division of a country. We see instances of such corporate bodies mentioned in other inscriptions; e. g., *Nanrulai-nāḍu-munirruvar*, the three hundred of the *Nanrulai-nāḍu*. Again, at the present day the Romo-Syrians are divided into the *Elunūṟṟukkārs* and *Aññūṟṟukkārs*, the community of the seven hundred and that of the five hundred, or, as they are otherwise known as the Sudists and the Nordists.

The word *ulgu* has been read as such by Ellis and also understood in the sense of sea-customs. Whereas the other editors of the *Kōṭṭayam* grants have read the word as *ulagu* and *ulaguttu-jarakku*. Dr. Gundert translates the latter phrase as 'the merchandize belonging to the citizen.' The word *ulagu* occurs in ll. 28, 29, 34 and 46. In two out of these four instances, the word may be read as *ulagu* and this reading will suit as well as *ulgu*, but in the remaining two instances *ulagu* will make no intelligent meaning. The correct lection therefore is *ulgu* and it has been so read in the present edition of the documents.

The terms *talai-vilai* and *mulai-vilai* are also not intelligible. As understood by Gundert they literally mean the head-price and the breast-price, but their exact significance is not easy to determine. Gundert suggests that they are probably the right of selling males and females for serious caste offences. I confess I am unable to agree with him nor am I myself in a position to say what those terms mean.

Vāyinaṁ and *veḍi* or *peḍi* are again two words the meanings of which are unknown. Ellis and Gundert have given interpretations which are not convincing; they seem to be wrong. Ellis translates the passage *veḍiyālum vāyinaṁ pāṇḍattālum*, as 'and tribute, with awe and oblations' and adds '*vāyinaṁ* or *pāyinaṁ*=*upāyanaṁ*=reverence and offering'. Gundert translates the same as 'uses of elephants and horses' by taking *peḍi* as *piḍi* and reading *vāyinaṁ* as *vāhanaṁ*. Hultzsch follows the interpretation of Gundert.

The next phrase whose meaning has not been properly understood is *Āṇai-nēl-maṇṇu-nirum*. Gundert translates it as 'the *viḍupēru* such as the elephant's back, the earth and the water, etc.' or 'earth and water on the elephant,—at all events marks of nobility'. The Tamil literary usage is *maṇṇum maṇamum* and it occurs in Periyālvār's *Tiruppallāṇḍu*; the passage runs thus:—

vēl-āṭpaṭṭu niṇṇuḷḷirēl vāṇḍu maṇṇum maṇamum koṇṇin

(*Tiruppallāṇḍu*, verse 3, line 1.)

The commentary on it reads thus:—*tirumula-ttirunāḷḷu-ppuludī-maṇṇu śumakkukavaiyum andā-kkalliyāṇḍattukku abhimāniyāyirukkavaiyum*, (1) meaning, carrying fine earth for the ceremony of

(1) “மண்ணுக்கும் மணத்துக்குப் உரியார் அந்தரங்கரான அடியாரிதே. அடிமை விவையோலை யெழுதுமபோதும் ‘மண்ணுக்குப் மணத்துக்கும் உரியனாக வேணும்’ என்றிறேயெழுதுவது. மண்ணாவது- ஸ்வாமிக்கு ஒரு மண்களமுண்டானால் அங்குமார்ப்பணத்துக்குப் புழுதிமண் சுமக்கை. மணமாவது-அந்தக் கலயணத்துக்குத்தான் அபிமானியாயிருக்கை.....கடழான்’—என்று சொற்றுக்காக ஆரேனுக்கும் தன்னை யெழுதிக்கொடுக்கை.”

mulaippāliqai or *aṅkurārpaṇa* and conducting as persons interested in the marriage (for which the *mulaippāliqai* ceremony was begun). Those that are fit for *maṇṇum* and *maṇamum* are said to be those that are intimate with the person in whose house the marriage takes place. Periyavācchēṇ-
Pillai, the commentator, adds that when deeds of slavery (that is, of the sale and purchase of slaves, as also when a free person sells himself as a slave for the sake of food) are drawn up the phrase *maṇṇum maṇattukkum uriyaṇāga vēṇum* is usually entered therein. It is therefore clear that *āṇaimēl maṇṇum nīrum* means carrying earth and water for *aṅkurārpaṇa* on occasions of marriage on the back of elephants.

Having given the meaning of the difficult words that occur in the document, I shall proceed to discuss its historical aspect. It is stated in the inscription that Maruvāṇ Sapīr Īśō founded the city of Kollam and built in it the Tarisāppalli; he also received the *pārkkōl* and *pañcha-kaṇḍi* on behalf of this *palli* and received from the prince Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi the gift of a number of families of artisans and others. Duty on all dutiable articles had to be levied by him and all other business of state pertaining to trade had to be transacted by the same person with the co-operation of the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam people. Besides being himself thus honoured personally, Maruvāṇ Sapīr Īśō got also for the two communities of Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam, which were closely allied with him, some privileges and duties.

The Kollam era is known, from the way in which it is referred to in inscriptions, to have come into existence from the time of the founding of the city of Kollam and we further know that in that city the Vēṇāḍu prince had a garden palace with a number of storeys (*Kollattu pūṅgāvinṇu uyariya koṭṭil*) and that he was often sojourning in it, (see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX). If the founding of the city of Kollam mentioned in the Kōṭṭayam plates refers to the same event as that commemorated by the Kollam era, it is certain that the advent of the merchant Maruvāṇ Sapīr Īśō ought to have taken place in A. D. 825. The Christian traders under the lead of Maruvāṇ Sapīr Īśō ought to have come to the west coast of the Madras Presidency, much in the same way as the English merchants of the East India Company came and settled on the east coast. The former must have improved the city of Kollam, built in it factories and warehouses and residential quarters for themselves and their dependants; the Tarisāppalli was constructed for their worship. All these might have taken them some years at the end of which they were recognised as important factors in the commercial prosperity of the city of Kollam and of the kingdom in general, by the local prince and his overlord, namely, Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Kō Sthāṇu Ravi, who have granted to them help in the shape of men and several privileges and made Maruvāṇ Sapīr Īśō practically a political head, having civil and criminal jurisdiction over the people placed under him. The public recognition of the merit of the Christian merchant Sapīr Īśō might have been announced some thirty or forty years after his settlement in Kollam and hence the palæography of the inscription is more of the latter part of the 9th century A. D. than of its first quarter. The king Sthāṇu Ravi and the prince Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi must therefore have lived in the second half of the ninth century.

The following inscription in the Śiva temple at Tillaisthānam mentions a Chēramāṇ Kō-Tāṇu Iravi as a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Rājakesarivarman who overran the Tondaināḍu and extended his dominions so far:—

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||*] தொண்டைநாடு பரவின சோழன் பல்-
2. யானைக் கோக்கண்டன இன (1) ராஜகேஸரிவரமன
3. ஸ்ரீ சோமான் கோத்தானு இரவியாலுந் தவிசஞ்சா-
4. மரையுஞ் சிவிகையுந் திமிலையுந் கோயிலும் போனக-

(1) Read கண்டனயின.

5. முங் காளமுங் களிற்றுலிரையுஞ் செம்பியன்றமிழவேளெ-
6. ன்னுங் குலப்பியரும் பெற்ற விக்கிஅண்ணன் தேவிவா(யா)ன
7. கடம்ப மாடேவி திருநெய்த்தானத்து மாடேவர்க்கொரு நந்தாவிளக்க-
8. னுக்கு க்குடுத்த ஆடுநாறு [11*] வ.தூடேஹஸூரெனெ ॥—

Translation.

Hail Prosperity! The wife of Vikki Anṇaṇ, who was honoured by the king Kaṇḍiṇi Rājakēsarivarman who was the possessor of several elephants and by the Chēramāṇ Kō-tTāṇu Iravi, with (the privilege of using) the seat (of honour), the *chauris*, the palanquin, the drum, a palace, (royal) dinner, (participation in it perhaps) and the bugle and (who was presented) with a battalion of elephants and the hereditary title of Śembiyaṇ Tamiḷa-vēl,—Kaḍambamahādēvi (the wife of Vikki Anṇaṇ above mentioned) gave to the god Mahādēva at Tiruneyttānam a perpetual lamp, for which the number of sheep given by her is a hundred. May these be under the protection of the several *māhēśvaras*.

The Chōḷa king who extended his sovereignty over the Toṇḍaināḍu was, as we know from other sources, Rājakēsarivarman Āditya, the first. He allied himself with the Pāṇḍya king, Varaguna Pāṇḍya, and uprooted the Pallava dynasty and extended his dominions over the whole of the Toṇḍaināḍu. Therefore Āditya I ought to have lived in about the second half of the ninth century, for, we know Varaguna Pāṇḍya reigned from A.D. 862-3 upwards. The palaeography of the Tillaisthānam record also points to the same period.

It might be now argued that since from the palaeographical standpoint of the Tillaisthānam and the Kōṭṭayam records we can assign to Sthāṇu Ravi no earlier date than the last quarter of the ninth century, the Kollam era cannot be said to have had its origin in the settlement of the Christian traders in Kollam. Another argument which can also be urged against the hypothesis is that such an event as the settlement of a colony of foreigners at Kollam could never have given rise to an era universally adopted by the whole of the Malaināḍu; if Kollam was founded and made prosperous by the Christian traders, the people in and round Kollam might count their years from the date of the advent amidst them of the traders, out of gratitude to them for making their city very prosperous, but why should the Malayāḷis of the other parts of the country also do so? If, on account of the palaeography we cannot assign the records to the first quarter of the ninth century, the interpretation of the phrase *innagaram kaṇḍu nīrēṇṇa* cannot be 'who founded this city and received the grant of (the *kārāṇmai* of) it', but must be translated as 'who saw this city and received afterwards the grant of the *kārāṇmai* of it'.

Certainly the arguments against the hypothesis are not altogether negligible. However, it is not improbable that the settlement of a colony of foreign traders at Kollam took place in A. D. 825 and brought great commercial prosperity to the kingdom and that the grant of privileges came later on. If we suppose Maruvāṇ Sapīr Īśō was about thirty years of age when he landed in Kollam, say, in 825, he would not be more than 70 or 75 years old when he and his community were honoured by Sthāṇu Ravi in about 860-70. The palaeographical evidence is therefore not so insurmountable as it appears at first sight.

As for the other objection, we may point out that the whole Malabar country was practically under the sway of one sovereign and if he issued a mandate that the people should thenceforth count their years from the date of landing in Kollam by Maruvāṇ Sapīr Īśō, it would surely be

obeyed by the whole of Malainādu which was ruled over by him. Did not the Guptas, the Chālukyas and even the Hoysalas found eras which had nothing sacred about them, except that they commemorated the achievements of some famous member of their families and did not these eras find acceptance among their subjects, who were dating all their records in these eras? Was not the occupation for the first time of the strip of land that formed out of the sea near Cochin made the origin of the *Pudu-vaippu* era, which was current till so late a period as a hundred years ago in the country which is at present known as the Cochin State? (See *Trav. Arch. Series*, pp. 22-23). We learn from the Tirukkandiyur inscription (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 290) that the date of construction of the Śiva temple in it gave birth to an era which was current in that tract of the country: similarly, the building of the Śiva temple at Tirunakkarai in Kōṭṭayam has given rise to another local era; again, notice the method of computing the years in the following instances: *Tirukkulaśēkarapurattu talikkuchchellāninra yāṇḍu nurru-ttonnūrr-anju, ivvāṇḍu Makara-nāyirru*.....that is, in the Makara month of the year one hundred and ninty-five (after its construction) of the temple at Tirukkulaśēkarapuram...; nay, do we, Hindus, not use very freely the Christian era at the present time to the exclusion of all Hindu eras? Why should the Śālivāhana era which had nothing to do with Southern India, find favour with the southerners? The only answer to these objections is that the Hindus were not, as they are even now, so bigotted as to refuse to adopt any convenient era for all secular purposes. Some might feel inclined to think that the state of civilization and the free intercourse with foreigners at the present time is largely responsible for the cosmopolitan spirit of the modern Hindu and the Hindus of the medieval period cannot be expected to be so liberal in their views in all such matters as the moderners. It would in the first place be wrong to say that the civilization at that time had not progressed so far as it is now; it certainly had attained a very high degree, but only, it was of a different type. The intercourse with foreigners was no less in those days than it is at present, especially on the west coast. The all-important business of the people in Malabar was trade and they had customers from Arabia, Egypt and Europe, and the commingling of nations in business should necessarily have produced the same spirit of cosmopolitanism which characterises the present day. The very facts that the kings permitted the Christians to erect a *paḷḷi* for their worship in the midst of their capital city and freely made over Hindu families for conversion by them to their faith and the utilisation of their services for themselves, would clearly evidence the immense degree of toleration which the kings and the people possessed in those days. Again, the fact that the era is in universal use throughout Malabar also distinctly points to the conclusion that it was imposed upon his subjects by Sthānu Ravi (or any other sovereign, if my hypothesis be incorrect), and that he had jurisdiction over the Malabar country. So much about the date of the record and of the probability of the Christian settlement having been the origin of the Kollam era.

The second point of interest in the document is the formation of a large corporation of merchants from the natives of the soil who either became converts to the faith of the aliens or subjects of foreign merchant princes like Maruvān Sapir Īśō. The community of Añjuvaṇṇam, as I have already expressed, appears to me to be composed of the members of the five communities, the Īḷavar, the Vaṇṇār, the Veḷḷālar, the Tachchar and one other caste whose name is lost. The Añjuvaṇṇam people also exercised some influence in the management of the trade and in the affairs of the church. The community called the Maṇigrāmam is still an insoluble riddle; who they were, when they came to exist and under what circumstances—all these cannot even be guessed at present. The name Maṇigrāmam occurs in inscriptions in parts of the country which had no touch of the Christians (the Manichaens) and in these instances Maṇigramam does not appear to be Christian at all.

Another noteworthy fact in the document is the creation of the exalted position of *patīs* and the heads of the two families, the Punnaitalai house and the Pūaikūḍi house, were conferred

upon them this distinguishing title. The influence of these merchant princes seems to have lasted long and their administrative functions also appear to have been exercised for several centuries after the date of this document; there is also a tradition current that there ruled in some part of Malabar (near Quilon or Kāyanguḷam) a Christian prince and curious stories of his being a nephew of the Cochin Rāja, who became a convert to Christianity and ruled over a small portion of the country, which eventually lapsed into the kingdom of the Hindu princes of the land. Perhaps the tradition records the existence of these merchant princes who possessed all sorts of jurisdiction in their territory.

Now it is easy for us to picture to our mind the history of Kēraḷa of this period. The Vēṇāḍu princes were ruling perhaps with Trivandram as their capital, but Kollam was their chief sea-port. Merchants from foreign countries such as Arabia, Egypt and Europe came annually with the beginning of the monsoons to purchase the world-famous spices of Malabar and as the favourable wind set in they started out for their native countries. No one made a permanent stay in Malabar. To push on trade briskly enough, one of these merchants, by name Maruvān Sapīr Īśō, either of his own accord or at the request of the Vēṇāḍu king, resolved to settle down at Kollam. The necessary permission to remain in Kollam was sought from the local king of Vēṇāḍu who in the interest of the maritime trade, gladly conceded the request of Sapīr Īśō. At once, Īśō set about building factories and warehouses and residential quarters for himself and his followers and perhaps also improved the harbour at Kollam. The extension of the city of Kollam and the increase in its commercial prosperity attracted people from all other places in the kingdom and thus made Kollam very populous. Even the Vēṇāḍu prince erected for himself a palace at Kollam and began to reside in it very often.

After every business pertaining to trade was settled, Īśō resolved upon the construction of a place of worship for himself and his Christian followers, for which permission was obtained easily from the king and the Tarisāpṇāḷḷi came into existence. Then there was dearth for men of various professions whose services the Christians were badly in need of. The Vēṇāḍu prince persuaded some families of various castemen to settle in the territory of the Christians and render them service, for which certain concessions were shown to them, which their fellow castemen did not enjoy. Some of these, by long contact with the Christians became converted to Christianity, while others remained Hindus and served the Christians; for doing this they were looked upon as inferior in social status. In gratitude to the efforts of Maruvān Sapīr Īśō in enriching his country by foreign trade, Ayyanadigaḷ Tiruvaḷḷi granted to the Christians and the Hindus under their jurisdiction a number of *viṭupēṇṇus* and *aṭṭippēṇṇus*. The Añjuvaṇṇam and the Mañigrāmam received the *kārāṇmai* of the whole of the city of Kollam.

The busy traders of the foreign country began to reckon their dates from the date of their settlement in Malabar and this, in all probability, became the Kollam era or the era of the founding of the city of Kollam. This era might have been later on adopted by the people of Malabar as their own either because of the mandate of the king desiring them to adopt it or adopted by themselves on account of its usefulness. The era came into vogue with the people of Kollam and its neighbourhood one month earlier than among the Malayāḷis of the north Malabar,—a fact which clearly evidences two things, namely, firstly, that the era commemorated nothing religious or national; if it were based upon religion etc., the first day of the year should be the same for all Malabar; for instance, Ōṇam, their national festival is observed by all Malayāḷis on the same day, as it is based upon religion. Secondly, it took the northern Malayāḷis nearly a month in adopting the era after the people of Kollam. The delay was perhaps due to the delay in transit of the king's order to that part of his kingdom (or of his overlord).

From this time forwards the artizans and others given to the foreigners for their help came to be known by the name of Añjuvannam and Manigrāmam. (Has Manigrāmam anything to do with *maniyakāran*, a supervisor?). Help in the shape of men to the foreign merchant, Joseph Rabban (1) was given at a later period by Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi, (*Añjuvannam kuḍuttōm*) ; at a still later time, Virarāghava Chakravartii granted to the merchant Iravi Korttan similar help (*Manigrāmappattān-kuḍuttōm*) (2). It is therefore not an honour or distinction as is made out by the earlier editors of the documents. The same cause, namely, the attraction for the trade of Malabar, having existed always, in later times it made the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English to settle down in India for their trade.

Text.(3)

First Plate : Second Side.

1. இரண்டு குடி[சு]...[ரு]வியரும்(4) ஒரு குடிதச்சரும்[பு*]ள்ளி[ப்]பூமி(ய்)க்கு காரா(5)-
2. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ குடி(6) வெள்ளாளரும் இவ்வனைவரு[ம்*] தேவர்க்கு நடுவன(7) ந-
3. ட்டு இடுவன இட்டு பள்ளிக்கு எண்ணைக்கும்மற்றும் வே-
4. ண்டு(ங்)கடங்குற(றை)வு(8) வாராதே(ய்) செய்யக்கடவராக சமைச்ச இ-
5. நநகரம் கண்டு நீரேற்ற மருவான் ஸவீரீஸோ செய்விச்ச(ச) தரி-
6. ஸ்ரீரப்பள்ளிக்கு குடித்த ஸ்ரீரீயாவது [பு*] கோயிலதிகாரிகள் வி-
7. யராகண(த்)தேவர் உட்ப... (9) நுந்தருளிப் பிடிநடத்தி நீர்த்துள்ளியோடு கூ-
8. ட அய்ய... (10) [ள்] திருவடியும் இளங்குறுவாழிந் ராரிதிரு-
9. வடியும் அ... (11) காரும் புகூதியும் அறுநூற்று வரும் புண்ணைத்தலைப்-
10. பதியும் பூ[ளை]க்குடிப்பதியும் உள்ப்படவச்ச இப்பூமிக்கெ-
11. ல்லை [பு*] கிழக்கு வயல்க்காடேயெல்லையாகவுங் காயிலுமுட்படத் தெ-

(1) The Joseph Rabban of the Cochin plates need not be Rabbi Joseph, a Jew. The word Rabban may be considered as another form of Rambān, the name applied to those Christian priests who aspire to the position of a bishop and who in Russia are either widowers or unmarried men, and in Malabar only unmarried men. The donee of the so-called Jewish deed may as well be a Christian.

(2) In this instance, the 'headship of Manigrāmam' was granted to Iravi Korttan, a name which is distinctly Hindu and suits my interpretation of the name Manigrāmam as a Hindu colony under the jurisdiction of the Christians.

(3) From paper impressions prepared under my supervision.

(4) Dr. Gundert reads this as நீருடி or வீருயரும் neither of which makes any meaning. He reads this passage as ஓ (or இ)ருகுடிதச்சருமனடை (or வை)ய பூமியக்கு காராஸ்ரீ...

(5) Read காராஸ்ரீ.

(6) Read ஸ்ரீ குடி.

(7) Gundert reads ஸ்ரீவன and இடுவன as ஸ்ரீவன் and இடுவன் which give no sense.

(8) Gundert's reading here is மற்றும் வேண்டுஞ் சடங்கு ; he thinks that after சடங்கு one or two கு seem to be wanting.

(9) Read உட்பட இருந்தருளி.

(10) Read அய்யனடிகள் திருவடியும்.

(11) Read அதிகாரும்.

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Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a medieval manuscript. The text is written on a dark, textured background, possibly parchment or vellum, and is arranged in a single column. There are several large, irregular white spaces or holes in the manuscript, particularly in the middle and lower sections.

15
17
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27

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a medieval manuscript. The text is written on a dark, textured background, possibly parchment or vellum, and is arranged in a single column. There are several large, irregular white spaces or holes in the manuscript, particularly in the middle and lower sections.

12. ன் கிழக்கு சிறுவாதில்க்கால் மதிலையெல்லையாகவும் படிஞ்ஞாயி-
13. று கடலையெல்லையாகவும் வடக்குத் தோரணத்தோட்டமேயெல்லையா-

First Plate: Second Side.

14. கவும் வடகிழக்குப் புண்ணைத்தலை அண்டிலன்தோட்டமே யெல்லையாகவு-
15. ம் இந்நான்கெல்லைக்கும் அகப்பட்ட ஊமியிடிநடத்தி உலகுர் சந்திரா-
16. தித்தியரும் ஒள்ளநாளெல்லாஞ்செலவுபத்திரஞ் செய்துகுடுத்தென் அய்-
ய(ர)ன-
17. டிகள் திருவ[டி]யும் இராமதிருவடியுங் கோயிலதிகாரிகளு(ளு)ம்படமை-(1)
18. த்தருளி இப்[பூ]மியில்க் கூ(கு)டிகள(ளையும் எப்பிழைசொல்லியும் பள்ளி-
யாரே(ய்) [ஈ]-
19. பிழையுமழி.....(2) விலையும் முலைவிலையும் பள்ளியாரே கொள்ளப்பெறு-
வார் [11*]
20. நந்தமரெப்.....(3) பட்டாரும் எப்பிழைசொல்லியும் பூமித்தலையும்
21. குடிகள்ப.....(4) [௨௪[ர]]ல்பப்பெறார் [11*] அறுதூற்றுவரும் அஞ்சவண்-
ணம்முமணி-
22. க்கிராமமும் இரகூதிக்கக்கடவர் [11*] பள்ளியையும் பு(பூ)மியையும் உலக(கு)-
23. ம் சந்திராதித்தியரும் ஒள்ளநாளெல்லாஞ் செலவு பத்திரத்தில-
24. ப்பட்டவண்ணஞ் செய்துகொள்ளக் கடவர் அஞ்சவண்ணமும் மணிக்கிர-
25. ர(ரர)மமும் [11*] இவள்க்குக் கோயிலதிகாரிகள் வியராகதேவருள்பட இ-
26. ருந்தருளி அப்பனடிகள் திருவடியும் இராமதிருவடியும் உட்பட இ-
27. ருந்தருளி (here occur some letters in what appears to be Nāṣṭhīkī alphabet,
perhaps the signature of the donors) இவகளுக்கு(5) குடுத்த

Second Plate: First Side.

28. [வி]டுபெறவது [1*] அறுபதி (லொ)ன்றுல்குந்கள்வரத்... (6) லுல்கெல்லையாக-
வும் [1*] அழிவு-
29. ல்கெல்லையாகவும் [1*] இவகள் கொள்ளும் அடிமைக்கு ஆளக்காசு கொள்ளப்-
பெறரா-
30. கவும் [1*] வாயினம் வருமதில் வரத்திலும் போக்கிலும் எட்டு[கா]சு கொள்-
ளக்கடவா-
31. ராகவும் [1*] வெடியிலும் படகிலும் போக்கிலும் வரத்திலுந்நாலாகாசு
கொள்ள-

(1) Gundert reads this passage thus: "கோயிலதிகாரிகளுள்பட (evidently a mistake of the writer for குழுள்பட) மை (or வை) த்தருளி."

(2) Gundert supplies the blank thus: "பிழையுமழிவும் தலைவிலையும்."

(3) Read நந்தமரெப்பேர்ப்பட்டாரும்.

(4) Gundert supplies the blank thus: குடிகள்பாடுஞ்சொல்ல.

(5) This இவகளுக்கு is redundant.

(6) Read வரத்திலு.

32. க்கடவராகவும் [1*] உல்கு(க)ட்டுஞ்சரக்கு இவகளைகடவச்ச உல்குவிடுப்ப-
தாகவு-
33. ம்[1*] சரக்குமி(வி)லையிடுமிடத்தும் மற்றுமே ஸ்ராமிகாரியம்(1) எக்காரியமும்
34. இவகளைக்கட்டியே செய்வதாகவும்[1*] அன்றன்றுபடுமுல்கு அஞ்சுவண்ண-
மும்
35. மணிக்கிராமமும் இலக்கிச்ச வைப்பதாகவும் [1*] நாலுவாதிலகத்து-
36. ம் விலக்கும் பூயியாக காராண்மைக் கொடுக்குமெடத்துங் கோப்பதவாரங்-
37. கோயில் கொண்டு பதிப்பதவாரம் அஞ்சுவண்ணமும் மணிக்கிராமமு-
38. ன் கொள்வதாக [1*] இவகளுக்கு மங்கலுத்துக்கு(2) ஆனைமேல் மண்ணுநீர்
முத-
39. லாக எழுபத்திரண்டு விடுபேறும் வச்சக்குடுத்தார் கோயிலதி-
40. காரிகள் வியராகதேவர் உள்ப்பட இருந்தருளி அய்யனடி-
41. கள் திருவடியும் ஈராதிருவடியும் புகுதியும் அதி-

Second Plate: Second Side.

42. காரரும் அறுநூற்றுவரும் புண்ணைத்தலைபதியும் பூளைக்குடிப்ப-
43. தியும் உள்ப்படவைத்து உல்கும் சந்திராதித்தியரும் ஒள்ள நாளெல்லா-
44. ம் இவ்வட்டிப்பேறெல்லாஞ் செப்புபத்திரத்திலப்பட்டவண்ணஞ் செய்து-
45. கொள்ளப்பெறுவர் [1*] அஞ்சுவண்ணமும் மணிக்கிராமமும் இவகளுக்கு
46. அன்னியாம்மொண்டாயில் உல்குதுலாக்கலிதடுத்துந் தங்ஙன் அன்னாயா-
யந்(3) தீர்-
47. த்துகொள்ளக்கடவா[1*] தங்கள் செய்யும் பிழையுண்டாகிறற்களைக்-
கொண்டே யாராஞ்ஞ-
48. கொள்ளக் கடவராகவுமிந் நகரத்துக்குக் காராளராக நீரேற்றார் அஞ்சுவண்-
ணமு-
49. ம் மணிக்கிராமமும் [1*] இவருளிரண்டு தலையாருங் கூடிச் செய்வதே க-
50. ருமமாகவு [1*] மிந்நகரங்கண்டு நீரேற்றவருமான ஸவீரீ[6]ஸா முன்-
னம் புள்ளி-
51. யார் பெற்றுடைய பார்க்கோலும்[ம்] பஞ்சகண்டியும் ம[னெ]வான்(4)
ஸவீரீ[6]ஸா [6]-
52. றுத்து(5) நிறைக்கலி பள்ளிக்கு குடுக்கக்கடவர் [1*] இதுவும் அட்டிப்-
53. பேறாகக் குடுத்தேன் உலகுஞ் சஞ்(ந்)திராதித்தியரும் ஒள்ள நாளெல்ல[1*]-
ம்[11*]

54. (The same writing as is found in line 27 occurs in this line also.)--

(To be continued.)

- (1) Gundert's reading is ஸாஸிகாரியம்.
(2) Gundert reads this as மங்கலத்துக்கு.
(3) Read அன்னியாயந்.
(4) Read மருவான்.
(5) Read நிறுத்து.

Translation.

Lines 1-6. two families of one family of carpenters and four families of Vellāḷars to till the soil, all these have been ordained to sow (all seeds) and plant (all trees) as they did for the king, so that there might be no failure in the supplies, such as oil, for the Church (1). The land which was granted to the Tarisāppallī erected by Maruvān Sapir Iṣō, (who founded the city of Kollam) and received water (in token of many *viḍupērus* being granted to him) is (what is going to be described below) :—

Lines 7-11. The land had its boundary marked by the performance of the ceremony of circumambulating a female elephant under the supervision of the *kōyiladhikāri*, Viyarāgattēvar and others and (granted) by the pouring of water drops by Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi, who was governing the smaller division (of Vēpādu or was the *yuvārāja*) in the presence of the *adikāvar*, the *prakṛitīyār*, the Six-hundred, the Puṇṇaittalipati and the Pūḷaikkūḍippati.

Lines 11-15. The boundaries of the land are :— The cultivated land (*vayal-kkāḍu*) being the eastern boundary ; the fort-wall having a small gate in it, including the *kāyil* (= *kāyal*=backwaters) being the south-eastern boundary ; the *tōraṇa-ttōṭṭam* being the northern boundary and the garden of Aṇḍilaṇ of the Puṇṇaittalai house being the north-eastern boundary (2).

Lines 15-18. (We) Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍigaḷ and Rāma Tiruvaḍigaḷ, together with the *kōyiladhikāriḡaḷ* have granted the land enclosed within these four boundaries which were fixed by the circuiting of a female elephant (3) and given this deed, so that it may be in force as long as the world, the moon and the sun last.

Lines 18-22. If the inhabitants residing in this portion of land commit any mistakes, the Church authorities shall receive the fines levied on the delinquents, as also the *talai-vilai* and the *mulai-vilai*. None of our relatives (or dependants) shall charge them with any mistakes, nor shall they say.... *bhūmittalai* and the tenants, the six-hundred, the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam shall protect (4).

Lines 22-25. The Añjuvaṇṇam people and the Maṇigrāmam people shall do for the Church and the land belonging to it everything according to the contents of the deed, as long as the earth, the moon and the sun last (5).

Lines 25-28. The *viḍupēru* granted to these (the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam) by Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi together with Rāma Tiruvaḍi and the *kōyiladhikāriḡaḷ* are :—(Here occur some letters in some sort of Nāgari, which appear to be signatures of the donors).

(1) Dr. Gundert translates this passage thus : " The latter being (*Vellāḷar*) *Ōārāḷar* of the Alave (or *Aladeiya*) land, that all these may do their duty to the god, the planter by planting (rice etc.), the setter by setting (trees or by building, offering ?) ".

(2) The following is the translation of the passage by Dr. Gundert : " The garden of the unapproachable of Puṇṇaittalai ".

(3) Dr. Gundert overlooks the word *piḍinaḍatti* in his translation which runs as follows :— " Decreed with the sanction of the Palace-major Vyārākadēvar and power given with (the ceremony of) waterdrops for seizing and possessing..... ".

(4) If translated in this manner we do not know what it is that these three bodies are required to protect. The passage may also be translated thus : The six-hundred should protect the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam (communities).

(5) The construction of the sentence is here very faulty. பள்ளியையும் பூமியையும் ought to be understood perhaps as பள்ளிவிசையத்திலும் பூமிவிசையத்திலும் and rendered into English as in the matter of their duties to the Church and the land.

Lines 28-29. The customs duty of one in sixty on toddy (?) shall not be levied when it is in-coming and no duty when it is consumed.

Lines 29-30. No one shall levy poll-tax upon those whom these people take as their slaves.

Lines 30-32. In the case of *vāyinaṁ* (merchandise ?), they shall collect eight *kāśus* on it when it is in-coming and out-going, (that is, when it is taken, for instance, into the warehouse after its collection and goes out of it when it is sold or despatched to other countries); they shall collect (similarly) four *kāśus* when it comes in *veḍi* (or *peḍi* ?) and in boats.

Lines 32-35. The levying of customs on dutiable articles should be done only in their presence⁽¹⁾. (Similarly) the apprising of articles and all other business of the lord (the king) shall be done in company with these people⁽²⁾. The Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam shall take care of the customs collected every day.

Lines 35-38. When such of those lands within the four gates (of the fort) are set apart as not wanted (for the use of the palace, *vilakkum-bhūmi*) and is therefore given on the *kārāṇmai* tenure, the palace (agents) shall collect the *kōppadavāram* and the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam shall collect the *patippadavāram*.

Lines 38-45. While the *kōyiladhikāri* was also present, Ayyaṇḍigal Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi, together with the *prakṛiti*, the *adhikārar*, the six-hundred, the Pūṇaittalaippati and the Pūḷaikkudippati, granted to these (the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam people) seventy-two *viḍupērus* beginning with the (right of) carrying earth and water on the back of the elephant on auspicious or marriage occasions⁽³⁾, for all time the earth, the moon and the sun last and they (the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam) have a right to enjoy these *aṭṭippērus* in the manner detailed in the copper (plate) deed.

Lines 45-48. If the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam people have any misgivings (or injustice) done to them by others (or they against others) they shall settle these by stopping (the collection and payment of) the customs duty and the duty on weighment (of articles of merchandise) till the aggrandisers come to terms. If (however) there are mistakes committed (by some) among themselves, such mistakes shall be enquired into by themselves⁽⁴⁾.

(1) Dr. Gundert translates this passage thus: "Merchandize belonging to the citizens of the above (the *paḷḷiyār*? or the protecting lords)".

(2) The passage beginning with சர்க்கு விலையிடுமிடத்து, etc. is translated by him thus:— " (that in the space within the four gates or in the four public offices?) and on the spot where land for sale (or under prohibition) is given in trust."

(3) ஆனைமேல் மண்ணூரும் is rendered by him thus:— (*viḍupēru* such as) the elephants' back, the earth, the water etc., (or earth and water on the elephant)—at all events marks of nobility.

(4) Dr. Gundert translates this passage thus:—

"If any injustice is done to these (the *paḷḷiyār*? or Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam?) they may withhold the tribute ('world-bearing hire') and remedy themselves the injury done them. Should they themselves commit a crime they are themselves to have the investigation of it. And let whatever the two chieftains in Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam who have taken the water (possession) as trustee for this town (*kārāḷar* may do in unison be counted for one act—And let Maruvāṇ Sapir Īśō who took the water for this town, since he acquired (or transferred? *peruttru*) the share-staff *vārakkēḷ*) and the five pieces (of Añjacandī) which formerly were the property of the Paḷḷiyār pay for it the full price for the church".

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Lines 48-54. Whatever arrangements these two bodies, the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇi-grāma people, who have received (the perpetual lease of) the *kārāṇmai* of this city (Kollam), do shall be considered to be the proper ones. And Maruvān Sapir Īśō who founded this city and received the water (poured into his hands in token of the receipt of the *aṭṭippērus* and *viḍupērus*) shall collect duty upon all articles which are weighed and make over the collection to the Church by virtue of his acceptance, on behalf of the Church people, the *pārkkōl* and the *pañchakkāṇḍi*. This also, I, (Ayyanaḍigal Tiruvaḍi), granted as an *aṭṭippēru* to last as long as the earth, the moon and the sun. (Once again the signatures of the donees mentioned in line 27 occur in the line 54 also).

(To be continued).

No. III.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on two sides of a single copper-plate belonging to the Mūviḍattu-mēg-chēri Ilam at Tiruvallā; the Vaṭṭeluttu characters employed in this document are similar to those of No. II above. The writing is executed in a very slovenly manner and a large number of errors have consequently been allowed to creep in. The preservation of the record is good.

It belongs to the seventeenth year of the reign of the king Tānu Iravi (Sthānu Ravi). Nothing beyond the bare regnal year is given and it is therefore not possible to fix his age from this record also. The document contains the arrangements made by the *saḥkō* of Tiruvāṅṅuvāy and the *aḍigal* (perhaps the temple servants) regarding the feeding that should be conducted on the Ōṇam day in the month of Āvaṇi, for which one Sēndan Sāṅkaran of Puṇṣey-ppaḍagāram gave certain lands.

The names of places that occur in this document are Tiruvāṅṅuvāy and Puṇṣey-ppaḍagāram. Of these the former is the name of a suburb of Tiruvallā in which is situated the Śiva temple of Tiruvāṅṅuvāy; it is not possible to identify the latter.

Text.⁽¹⁾

First Side.

1. கோத்தாணு இரவிக்கு செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டுபதினேழு [11*] இவ்வாண்டு
திருவாற்றுவாய் ஸலெயு மடிகளமாருமவிரோதத்தால் கட்ச செ-
2. ய்த கச்சம் [1*] புன்சைப்படகாரத்து சேந்தஞ்சங்கரன் ஆவணியோனமடு-
வான் கொடுத்த பு(கூ)மி [1*] சேந்நஞ்சேந்நஞர்கரி பதின்கலம்(2) [1*]
காடேறு-
3. ஐந்நாற்று நாழியும் [1*] இவைகொண்டு ஊர்மறையால் ஓணமடக்கட[வ*]ர[1*]
ஊட்டம் முட்டிகுவாரர்(3) ஐம்பத்து[நாலு] காணந் பொன்பழங்காயுனோடு
4. ஒப்பது [1*] இ தண்டமிட்டு ஊட்டுமடக்கடவர் [1*] இரண்டும் செ[ய*]-
யாதொழிகில் அவர் அவிரப[ப]ரூகா(4) [1*] ஊட்டு பரிசு அடமித்துடவி-
ன[ல்](5) ஒரு-

(1) From inked impressions prepared under my supervision. °

(2) Read கலமம்.

(3) Read முட்டிக்குமவர்.

(4) Readபெரூர்.

(5) Perhaps அடமிடத்துத்துடவினல்.

5. துடவு நெயும் பயறும் சரு[க்*]கரையும் வாதை[ப்]பழமு[ம்*]கட ஊ[ட்*]ட கடவர்[1*] எண்ணையு[ம்*] அட[க்]கடவர்[1*] உச்ச அக[த்*]து ப[ந்]தீறடி(1) துடங்கி அந்தியில் மு-
6. ன்னுடுக(2) [1*] அறதினரிடைசுடு உடையாராசேர்வர்களை ஊ[ட்*]ட கடவர்[1*] தேவர்[க்*]கு எ[ண்*]ணழி அரிசுகொண்டு நிவேதி[க்*]க[க்*]கடவர்[1*] உழ[க்*]குநெயும் நிவேதி[க்*]க[1*]
7. முழக்கு(3) நெய்கொண்டு திருவிளக்கு வை[க்*]க[1*] நானாழி அரிசுகொண்டு பூதபலி ஊ[ட்*]ட[க்*]கடவர்[1*] பாதமுலிகளில் நடந்து சேர்த்துகொள்வார்-

Second Side.

8. [க்*]கு அஞாழி(4) நெல் குடு[க்*]கக்கடவர்[1*]

Translation.

The year that was current (in the reign) of the king Tānu Iravi was seventeen; in this year the following was the decision arrived at without disagreement by the *sabhd* of Tiruvāṇṇuvāy and the *aḷigal* (temple servants). The lands given (to the temple) by Śēdanṇ Śāṅkaraṇ of Pṇṇṣṇy-ppaḍagāram for cooking (food for feeding brāhmaṇas) on the Ōṇam (Śrāvaṇa nakshatra) day in the month of Āvaṇi (Śrāvaṇa month), are :—Śēdanṇ-Śēdanār-kari yielding ten *kalams* and Kādēṇu yielding five hundred *nāḷis*. Collecting these (items of income) they shall cook for the Ōṇam by the *maṇai* (*paṇai*?) of the village. Those that obstruct (this charity) shall.....fifty-four *kāṇams* of gold. Even after paying this fine they shall still be bound to conduct the feeding. If they do neither of these things, they shall not be eligible for.....In making the preparations for feeding, they shall do so with a *tuḍavai* of ghee, green gram, sugar and plantain fruits also. They shall also give oil (perhaps for burning lamps). The cooking should be begun at the twelve-feet time of the day and be continued until the evening. Such of those as.....alone shall be fed. They are bound to offer eight *nāḷis* of (cooked) rice to the god; also offer one *ulakku* of ghee, and burn a lamp with one *ulakku* of ghee, (or three *ulakkus*=*mulakku*). They are to make the offering of *bhūtabali* with four *nāḷis* of (cooked) rice. To those among them who walk about here and there (in connection with this *uṭṭu* business) shall be given by the Pādamūlis five *nāḷis* each of rice (as remuneration for their labour).

Erratum. Wherever the word *Āṇaikkudippati* occurs read it as *Pūlaikkudippati*.

(1) Read பந்தீறடி.

(2) Read முன்னடுக.

(3) முழக்கு is perhaps மூவுழக்கு...மூழக்கு.

(4) Read அஞ்ஞாழி.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MŪSHIKA-VAMSAM.

श्रीरस्तु ॥

अथ पृथुभुजवीर्योपार्जिताशेषभूमृ-
न्मकुटमणिमयूखामृष्टपादाम्बुजन्मा ।
अशिषद्वानिमेनामुद्धृतैकातपत्रं
जगति बुधजनानामाश्रितः कुञ्चिवर्मा ॥ (१२-१)

अभवदमलकीर्तेरात्मजा तस्य काचि-
त्तदनु च कुलदीपस्सूनुरीशानवर्मा ।
दधदिव विजिगीषुर्विक्रमं नीतियुक्तं
धरणिपतिरुभाभ्यामुच्चकैरावभासे ॥ (१२-५)

महति दुहितरं तामीश्वरे केरलानां
प्रथितयशसि कृत्वा राजलक्ष्मीं तनूजे ।
अपगतगुरुभारं पुण्यसंभारमुच्चै-
रविशदुप.....धानस्थानमाखण्डलीयम् ॥ (१२-६)

अथ पितुरधिगम्य प्रोज्ज्वलां राजलक्ष्मीं
दिशि दिशि विलसद्भिस्सद्गुणानां सहस्रैः ।
सकलजनमनोज्ञां चन्द्रिकां प्राप्य चन्द्रा-
दुडुभिरिव निशायास्सोवकारश्चकाशे ॥ (१२-७)

परणयविधियोग्ये प्राप्तविद्यं कदाचि-
द्वयसि कृतपदं तं वल्लभे मन्मथस्य ।
तदनुगुणकलत्रान्वेषणन्यग्रचेताः
वच इति वरमन्त्री मन्त्रविद्व्याजहार ॥ (१२-८)

अधिवसति मयूरोत्पातमत्रैव राष्ट्रं
भृशतरमधिराजेनान्वितस्तद्वेन ।
अविरहितकुडुम्बो विप्रवेषावलम्बी
स्वरिपुभिरवरुद्धश्चेदिवंश्यो नरेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-९)

अनुपमगुणरूपा नन्दिनीत्यस्ति काचि-

द्वयसि शिथिलबाल्ये वर्तमानाऽस्य कन्या ।

चिरपरिचयशीलप्रेमबन्धात्सलेशं

स्वयमिव रिपुहस्तादागता राज्यलक्ष्मीः ॥ (१२-१०)

श्रियमति.....युक्तां लक्षणैर्जन्मयोगै-

रपि जगति दुरापैरात्मनस्सूचयन्ती ।

परिणयविधियोगे साभविष्यत्यलं ते

प्रतिहतिरहिताया जन्मभूमिःप्रजायाः ॥ (१२-११)

इति गिरमुपकर्ण्य श्रेयसी[म*]र्थबन्धो-

रपि गलितसमृद्धिश्चेदिवंश्योन्नतस्य ।

पटुसचिवमुखेन श्लाघनीयान्वयस्ता-

मवृणुत वरकन्यामादरान्मूषिकेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-१२)

अथ जलधिरिवैनामम्बुजाक्षाय लक्ष्मीं

सुरभिरिव समृद्धिं कौसुमीं पार्थिवाय ।

भृशतरपरितोषं प्रादिशद् भूमिभर्त्रे

सकलजनमनोज्ञां चेदिराजस्वकन्याम् ॥ (१२-१३)

प्रहितविपुलदण्डाः प्राभृताधानतुष्टै-

रुपहितबलवाह्यस्तस्य सामान्तमुख्यैः ।

अघटयदतिदूरभ्रष्टया राज्यलक्ष्म्या

पुनरपि गुरुशक्तिं चेदिपं हेहयेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-१४)

स्वभुवमभिजिगीषु[म*] मूषिकेन्द्रो बलोच्चैः

सरथगजतुरङ्गैस्सार्धमृद्धानुभावम् ।

चलितमचलितश्रीः केरलेन्द्रं पुरा स्वा-

त्पुरमथनसमानस्तोऽथ शुश्राव तावत् ॥ (१२-१५)

सन्निशम्य सरुषस्तमुदन्तं भूपतेर्मुखरिताद्रिगुहेन ।

तस्य यानपटहेन गभीरं दध्वने कनककोणहत्तेन ॥ (१२-१६)

गन्धसिन्धुरघटाकृतभास्वत्सेतुबन्धसुखलङ्घितसिन्धुः ।

तं तमुद्धरबलस्सधराया देशमाशु समलङ्घयदीशः (१२-१६)

यानदुन्दुभिरवध्वनिताशं वाहिनीभरणनामितभूमिः ।
रेणुजालपिहितान्तरमुच्चैराससाद सरितं सपरुष्णीम् ॥ (१२-२७)

तामतीत्य सरितं निकषासौ सन्निवेशमकरोत्पृतनायाः ।
बद्धकुञ्जरतुरङ्गमुदञ्चत्केतुमुत्पटकुटीरमुदारम् ॥ (१२-२९)

केरलेन्द्रमपरेद्युरुपेतं शुश्रुवानथ रणोत्सवहेतोः ।
आह्वाय समनाहयदुच्चैर्वाहिनीमहितलोककृतान्तः ॥ (१२-३०)

वाहिनी रघुपतेरपि चैवं सन्ननाह सहसाऽऽहवहेतोः ।
दुर्जयारिजयलंपटचित्ता दुःश्रवप्रतिबलानकशब्दा ॥ (१२-३४)

ते परस्परसमेतपदातिस्पर्शने ह्यहयादिसमूहे ।
उद्यतायुधभुजे पृतने द्वे संप्रहर्तुमभिसंववृताते ॥ (१२-३५)

दुर्विलङ्घ्यमितरेतरधाम्ना तन्निशान्धयुगलध्वजपत्योः ।
केरलेन्द्रपृतनामथबाणैर्विध्यतिस्म कुपितो रणमानी ॥ १२-४९

भिद्यमानममुना विशिखौधैस्संविश्लोक्य बलमाकुलयोधम् ।
प्रत्यविध्यदरिसैन्यमसङ्ख्यैः पत्रिभिः प्रकुपितो जयरागः ॥ (१२-५०)

तावुभाविति परस्परहेतिव्रातपातविरलीकृतसैन्यौ ।
द्वन्द्वयुद्धमतिमानुषसत्त्वौ कर्तुमाहितमती समभूताम् ॥ (१२-५२)

जृम्भिताम्बुनिधिविभ्रमभाजोर्मध्य एव पितृमातुल्योस्सः ।
सेतुबन्ध इव केरलकेतुः प्रत्यदृश्यत तयोरथ गोदः ॥ (१२-५३)

अविरलशरवर्षावग्रहत्वं प्रपन्ने
नरपतितनयेऽस्मिन्संपरायान्निवृत्तौ ।
भुवनमवनिपालावन्धयत्यन्धकारे
सपदि बलनिवेशं स्वं स्वमेतावयाताम् ॥ (१२-५५)

तावन्येद्युस्समरसुलभज्याकिणाकल्पभाजौ
शौर्याधारौ प्रकृतिवचनात्सङ्गतौ बन्धुभूतौ ।
शान्तद्वेषौ पुनरुपचितप्रेमभारौ नरेन्द्रौ
लज्जां युद्धस्मरणजनितां सन्दधाते मुहूर्तम् ॥ (१२-५६)

भूयः प्राप्य प्रमुदितमनास्यालमाहूय कोलं
 पृथ्वीपालः पुनरनुपमो लोकपालोपमानम् ।
 संपन्नाभिर्गुरुतरमुदं सक्रियाभिस्स चक्रे
 नानारूपैर्जनपदजनैः प्राभूतैराहृतैश्च ॥ (१२-५७)

तत्रोषित्वा कतिचन निशा निर्गतैस्सोऽथ मार्गे
 तैस्तैर्दैत्यैरुपहृतमहातिथ्यसत्कार एव ।
 कृच्छ्रात्तेन स्वयमनुमतः स्नेहनिघ्नेन राज्ञां
 प्राज्यैश्वर्या सधृतिरविशत्स्वां पुरीं केरलेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-५८)

श्रियमकृतपराङ्गस्पर्शदोषां स पश्चात्
 प्रभुरुचितमहिष्या निर्विशेषामशेषाम् ।
 सुखमनुबुभुजे स्वां दीर्घबाहुस्सुदीर्घं
 दिनमनुकृतशम्भुप्रीतिरीशानवर्मा ॥ (१२-५९)

प्रणयपरवशात्मा लालयन्प्रेयसीं तां
 श्रियमिव पृथुहस्तादाहृतां दीर्घकालम् ।
 प्रभवमिह सुखस्य श्रेयसोऽमुत्र चान्य-
 द्द्वरणिपातिरपत्यं नाशु तस्यामबिन्दत् ॥ (१२-६०)

व्यथितमतिरभावात्पुत्रलाभोत्सवस्य
 श्लथितसकलभोगश्लाघनीयान्वयस्य ।
 सुबहुभिरभिरामां स्वैर्गुणैर्मूषकाणां
 पतिरथ परिणिन्ये कन्यकां चोलभर्तुः ॥ (१२-६१)

प्रथममथ नरेन्द्रः पश्चिमायां महिष्या-
 मलमत नृपराभं सूनुमानन्दहेतुम् ।
 निजविभवशिखायामुन्नतं कोमलायां
 फलनिचयमिवोच्चैर्भूरुहः पारिजातः ॥ (१२-६२)

क्षितिचरदुरवापं रूपमम्भोघिसीमा
 नृपविभवसमृद्धिस्तादृशं प्रेम भर्तुः ।
 इति सकलमपार्थं साऽथ मत्वा स्वगत्या
 चिरममजत पादौ नन्दिनी चण्डिकायाः ॥ (१२-६३)

प्रमदकलितभक्तिव्यक्तरोमोद्गमाङ्गी
 स्वकरकिसलयेनोत्थापितां संस्पृशन्ती ।
 वरमभिमतमाशु त्वं वृणीष्वेत्यथैना-
 मतिगुरुकरुणार्द्रं वाक्यमार्या बभाषे ॥ (१२-६७)

प्रतिपदमियमस्मद्वंश्यनारीसुतानां
 क्षितिरवनिपतीना[म*]म्ब भूयात्स्वराज्यम् ।
 पुनरिति निगदन्ती साभवद्भक्तिपूर्वं
 प्रणतजनाशिवायाः पादमूलं शिवायाः ॥ (१२-६८)

प्रथितगुणमपत्यं संभविष्यत्यलं ते
 क्षितिरपि च पुनस्त्री.....कृत्वास्तथैव ।
 इति गिरमुपकर्ण्य प्रेयसीमम्बिकासौ
 कृतफल इव पुण्ये भोगसंपत्तिरोऽभूत् ॥ (१२-६९)

प्रमदमथ विबुद्धा संविभज्य स्वभर्तृ-
 गणमनतिचिरेण प्रीणयन्ती सखीनाम् ।
 अलमत सुतमेकं नन्दिनी पालकाख्यं
 दुहितरमपि कांचिददुःखविध्वस्तिहेतुम् ॥ (१२-७०)

करिकलभविलासं पालकं बालमेव
 प्रियतरमभिरामैस्त्वैर्गुणैरप्यसुभ्यः ।
 निकटमतिदिदृक्षोः प्रेययामास धीर-
 स्तनयमवनिपालस्तस्य मातामहस्य ॥ (१२-७१)

अथ निजभुजदण्डोपार्जितैरुज्जितश्री-
 र्वसुभिरवनिपालस्तर्पयन्नर्थिवर्गम् ।
 अतिबहुषु विमानेष्वप्रयायी बुधानां
 स्वयमुपरचितेषु स्थापयामास शम्भुम् ॥ (१२-७२)

पितरि दिवमुपेते पालकश्चेदिसंस्थः
 प्रकृतिभिरथ सद्यः प्रापितां राजलक्ष्मीम् ।
 विपुलबलभुजोऽपि ज्येष्ठभावानुवृत्त्या
 कथमपि नृपरामं रुद्धबुद्धिर्विषेहे ॥ (१२-७५)

स च भुवमभिरक्षन्क्षताज्ञो रिपूणां
उपगतमिव मृत्युर्गोचरं लोचनानाम् ।

.....(११-७४)

प्रथितपृथुयशोभिर्विक्रमाक्रान्तविश्वैः
स्वकुलनृपतिमुख्यैस्तेजसा संभूतेन ।
अशिषदवनिमेनामस्थितारिष्टशत्यः
कतिपयमथ कालं चन्द्रवर्मा नरेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-७७)

पितरि दिवमुपेते प्राग्दवीयः कनीय-
स्यखिलमलघु.....ग्नाजसा जीवलोकम् ।
प्रतनुरमृतभासस्तोऽपि कालेन बाल-
श्रम इव कलांशो जप्रसे चन्द्रवर्मा ॥ (१२-७८)

प्रकृतिसचिवमुख्यैर्भर्तृनाशे विपक्ष-
प्रतिहतबलवीर्यैः कृच्छ्रतो धार्यमाणा ।
उडुविजयितमिस्त्रा नष्टचन्द्रेव रात्रिः
समभवदतिशोच्या मौषिकी राजलक्ष्मीः ॥ (१२-७९)

खलजनपरिभूतः कृष्टवर्त्माश्रमेऽस्मिन्
परिदिशमवरुद्धे मण्डले शत्रुसैन्यैः ।
प्रकृतिसचिववर्गः पालकाह्वानहेतो-
र्दुततरमतिचेदि प्रेषयामास दूतम् ॥ (१२-४०)

परिभवमरिवर्गैस्सन्निशम्य स्वभूमेः
स्फुटतरपरिकोपः कल्पितानल्पसैन्यः ।
प्रथितविपुलशक्तिर्निर्ययौ सोऽथ सद्यः
कृतपद इव मूर्धन्युद्धतः कृष्णसर्पः (१२-८१)

सपदि विहतभग्नाशेषविद्वेषिवर्गः
प्रकृतिसचिवजुष्टो वश्यसामन्तलोकः ।
समुचितमभिषेकं प्राप्य सम्यक् प्रजानां
अधिगतविपुलश्रीः पालकः पालकोऽभूत् ॥ (१२-८३)

कृतवति पदमस्मिन्राज्ञि मृत्योः कटाक्षे

स्वसुरथ पृथुकीर्तिस्तस्य राज्ञस्तनूजः ।

अभवदभवहारी पूरिताशः प्रजानां

वलिधर इति तस्या बल्लभो राजलक्ष्म्याः ॥ (१२-९०)

पटुभिरिव दधाना भूतिनक्षत्रमेवैः

प्रथितरवपरीताशेषदिक्चक्रवाला ।

उपरि धरणिभर्तुस्तस्य तीव्रा कदाचित्

पुरजित इव गङ्गा प्रापत् गाङ्गसेना ॥ (१२-९१)

पृथुतरमवतीर्णं वासरे जीर्णभानौ

धरणिपतिरसह्यं सद्यशैलाग्रभागात् ।

द्रुततरमभिपत्य प्रत्यनीकं प्रदेशे

वचन इव सप्रगास्तूलपुञ्जं बभञ्ज ॥ (१२-९२)

परिचितबहुशस्त्रः पारगो दण्डनीतेः

प्रतिहतरिपुवीर्यः प्रत्यनीकः शठानाम् ।

भरतनहुषकीर्तिर्भागिनियोऽस्य राज्ञः

श्रियमथ रिपुरामः श्रेयसीमभ्यगच्छत् ॥ (१२-९३)

व्रजति गतिममर्त्यामीश्वरेऽस्मिन् जगत्याः

सपदितनुजन्मा जन्मभाजां पुरोगः ।

अभवदवनिचक्रं विक्रमोद्धातनामा

कृतमतिरथ रामस्सोमवंशप्रदीपः ॥

प्रथितमिह जनस्य श्रीनिकेतं कदाचि-

न्मुषितजनविपत्तेरालयं मूलवासम् ।

पृथुचटुलतुरङ्गक्षुब्धवेलातटान्तः

कवलयितुमुदन्वानुद्धतं व्याजजृम्भे ॥ (१२-९६)

सपदि च तमुदन्तं सन्निशम्यात्तकोपः

परिभवामिव शत्रोरात्मनोऽनन्तरस्य ।

प्रतिजलधि सदूरादुद्यतासिः प्रतस्थे

न खलु जगति धीरास्त्वस्य पश्यन्त्यभूमिम् ॥ (१२-९७)

प्रलय इव गभीरध्वानमुल्लङ्घ्य वेला-

विसृतचटुलवीचेरुत्थितस्यार्णवस्य ।

तुलितजलदशल्कैस्तूर्णमावध्य सेतुं

बलवदुपलभङ्गैः स्तम्भयामास वेगम् ॥ (१२-९८)

अथ मथितविपक्षः पक्षपाती गुणानां

शशधर इव भौमः कामिनीलोचनानाम् ।

प्रतिहतिरहिताङ्गं प्राज्ञसाधारणश्री-

रभजत जनमानी भौषिकीं राजलक्ष्मीम् ॥ (१२-१०१)

पुरविजितमुदस्य क्षमापतौ जीवलोकं

मखविजितममुष्मिन्प्रस्थिते लोकमन्यम् ।

अमृत निमृतचेता मेदिनीमर्णवान्तां

प्रतिहतिरिपुसङ्घोपक्रमशङ्खवर्मा ॥ (१२-१०२)

अथ वहति विभावभावमस्मि-

नृपमकुटाग्रविघट्टिताङ्घ्रिपीठः ।

पुनरपि जयमानिनामधेयः

पुनरवहन्पतिश्चिराय कोलम् ॥ (१२-१०३)

उच्छ्रायिसालवलयं परितोषितस्य

खातं गभीरमरिभिः कथमप्यवृष्यम् ।

गाम्भीर्यमुन्नतिरिति प्रथयत्यमोघं

हेतुं परैर्द्वितयमेतदलङ्घ्यतायाः ॥ (१२-१०४)

पर्याकुले विलसति प्रथनापगाया-

शृङ्गायागतं पयसि गोपुरमुन्नताग्रम् ।

भावस्य यच्च सकलस्य जगद्धिताय

प्रत्यक्षतामपनयत्यतिभङ्गलीलाम् ॥ (१२-१०५)

कृतास्पदाः काननसत्त्वजातयः

तपोभृतां सिद्धिमतामिवाश्रमे ।

जगत्प्रतीतातिविरुद्धवृत्तयः

सहाखिला यत्र वसन्ति देवताः ॥ (१२-११२)

शिरसि विदधद्राज्ञां श्लाघ्ये पदं विहतात्मना

कृतपरिकरैर्नागैरुग्रैरनुज्झितविग्रहः ।

रिपुकुलपुरध्वंसी गृह्णन्हीनगुणं धनुः

शिव इव बभौ गामाक्रामन्नसौ धरणीपतिः ॥ (१२-११३)

अथ तस्य विभोरनन्तरो विजयी सद्गुणरत्नसागरः ।

वल्लभद्रसमानविक्रमो वल्लभो नाम बभूव पार्थिवः ॥ (१३-१)

स कदाचिदवन्ध्यगौरुषः कुपितो भूपतिरागसि क्वचित् ।

प्रचचाल भटस्थलीभुवः पतिमुन्मूलयितुं मदोद्धतम् ॥ (१३-६)

भरितां भयजातसंभ्रमैरभिनिर्यद्भिरितस्ततो जनैः ।

प्रलयानलभीषणोद्यमः प्रतिपेदे नृपतिर्भटस्थलीम् ॥ (१३-९)

प्रतिगर्जितुमक्षमैरलं पुरतस्तस्य पुरारितेजसः ।

परितो वनमार्गमाश्रितैरभिनिर्यद्भिरथोपचकमे ॥ (१३-१०)

अपनुद्य ततस्ततो रिपून् स्वपरित्राणपरायणोद्यमान् ।

नृपतिर्निजवंशकेतवे नृपरामाय ददौ भटस्थलीम् ॥ (१३-१२)

अनुजेन ततोऽस्य भूपतेरधरीकृत्य यशांसि भूभृताम् ।

धरणी वरदेन मौषिकी स्वसनाथाकृतकुन्दवर्मणा ॥ (१३-१४)

अभिरक्ष्य भुवं चिराय यो विभवैर्यायवशादुपाजितैः ।

व्यधितं प्रथितं मुरद्विषो भुवि नारायणपूर्वकं पुरम् ॥ (१३-१६)

अथ तत्र नृपे यशोनिधौ स्मरणीयां गतिमभ्युपेयुषि ।

स्वसुरस्य सुतः स्मराकृतिः पृथिवीं पालयतिस्म पालकः ॥ (१३-१७)

पृथुतेजसि तत्र चाचिरात्पतिते कालकटाक्षवर्त्मनि ।

पदमस्य भटस्थलीभुवो रिपुरामस्स महानगाहत ॥ (१३-१८)

तमनु प्रमनास्समाख्यया भुवि गम्भीर इति प्रतीतिमान् ।

सुत एव तु पालकस्वसुः क्षितिमेनां क्षपितारिरग्रहीत् ॥ (१३-१४)

प्रणिहत्य विपक्षभूपतीन्परिरक्षन्खिला भुवि प्रजाः ।

प्रजिघाय सवेल्मुञ्चधीरहताङ्गः कुहचिद्वरापतिः ॥ (१३-१५)

नयवर्त्मवशादितस्ततो चरतो लेखममुष्य भूमिषु ।
अहरद् बलदर्पमोहितो मरुपूर्वस्य पतिः पुरस्य तम् ॥ (१३-२६)

द्विषता विहितां विलङ्घनामसहस्रोदुमनल्पपौरुषः ।
सहसा मृगदष्टकेसरो विजयी सिंह इवोच्चाल सः ॥ (१३-२७)

प्रचलद्बलवाजिहेषितश्रवणक्षोभितसर्वैर्दिङ्मुखः ।
अभिहत्य चमूभिराशु तं स्वबलैस्तां स पुरीं समावृणोत् ॥ (१३-२८)

अथ सा रिपुसैन्यमुत्थितं शरवृष्टिप्रकरैरशीशमत् ।
दववह्निमिवाभ्रसंहतिस्तरसा कोलपतेः पताकिनी ॥ (१३-३०)

अपनुद्य रिपून्सहस्रधा बलदर्पोद्धुरया ससेनया ।
दहनं तुहिनांशुवंशजः पुरि तस्यां रभसाददीपयद् ॥ (१३-३१)

परिदह्य पुरीं स पाण्डवः कमनीयामिव खण्डवस्थलीम् ।
परिनिस्सृतकोपपावकः स्वपुरीं प्रत्यनयत्पताकिनीम् ॥ (१३-३८)

व्रजति त्रिदशेषु गण्यतां नृपतौ तस्य निरस्तविद्विषः ।
अनुजो मनुजोत्तमश्चिरं जयमानी जगतीमपालयत् ॥ (१३-३९)

संजज्ञे सकलगुणैकपात्रमस्य स्वस्त्रीयो वलभ इति प्रतीतनामा ।
भूतानामिह भुवने हितार्थमुच्चैरेकांशः प्रमथपतेरिवावर्तार्णः ॥ (१३-४३)

बद्धौत्सुक्यो भाविनीं जीवलोकः प्रत्यैक्षिष्ट श्रेयसीं यस्य वृद्धिम् ।
प्रादुर्भावं संप्रपन्नस्य भूमौ बालस्येव स्वर्गपृथ्वीरुहस्य ॥ (१३-४९)

श्रीमानमुष्यावरजः कलानां वेत्ता कृतज्ञो वसतिर्गुणानाम् ।
रामस्य सौमित्रिरीवाजनिष्ठ राजा प्रतीतो भुवि राजधर्मा ॥ (१३-५०)

धर्मस्य पाश्चात्ययुगप्रतीक्षास्थानायमानं कलिदुर्बलस्य ।
चेलूरनामानमसौ कदाचिन्महाग्रहारं वलभः प्रपेदे ॥ (१३-५१)

त्यागप्ररोहनिभृतस्थितयस्समन्ताद्रथासाष्पडङ्गलतिकाभिरुदीर्णशाखाः ।
यस्मिन्विधिप्रसवबद्धफलाभिरामास्तिष्ठन्ति वेदतरवो महिता द्विजानाम् ॥ (१३-५२)

यत्र द्विजन्मतिलकौ भवनन्दिसंज्ञौ
 अक्षीयमानगुणरत्नचयावभूताम् ।
 मोहापनोदकरणार्थमिह प्रजानां
 शुक्रश्च शक्रसचिवश्च दिवोऽवतीर्णौ ॥ (१३-६१)

तत्राथ चित्रकुसुमस्तवकावतंसै-
 रूद्यानशाखिभिरुपस्कृतदिग्विभागम् ।
 श्रीमत्सशम्बरपदप्रथिताभिधानं
 पुण्यं हरेर्नृपसुतः पुरमाससाद ॥ (१३-६२)

द्रुततरमवतीर्य तत्र यानाद्भुवनगुरुं शिरसा प्रणम्य शौरिम् ।
 पुरमथ शतसोमनिर्मितं तत्स पुररिपोरभिराममाससाद ॥ (१३-६७)

यत्नाग्रहर्म्यपरिलीननवाम्बुवाहविद्युलताकृतचलाचलचित्रलेखम् ।
 विप्रोपहारविधितोषितचित्तवृत्तिः शश्वद्विमानमधितिष्ठति चन्द्रमौलिः ॥ (१३-६८)

उद्घुष्यते भुवि जनेन विचक्षणेन
 यत्रेप्सितानि ददति प्रविचक्षणेन ।
 षट्कर्मिणा मुनिवरिष्ठसभा समेति
 निश्शेषवेदमुखरेण समस्तशास्त्रम् ॥ (१३-६९)

वादोन्मुखेन कृतधर्मकथान्तरेण
 ।
 अद्धा सभा द्विजगणेन सदैव साक्षा-
 दाभाति यत्र वचसामधिदेवतेव ॥ (१३-७०)

तत्र द्विजन्मतिलकैर्विहितस्समेत्य
 तद्ग्रामरक्षणविधौ सदृशे स तिष्ठन् ।
 तूर्णं नरेन्द्रतनयः परिजीर्णसन्धि-
 भूयः परं पुररिपोर्वटयांबभूव ॥ (१३-७१)

अथ द्विजानां शिवशंसिनीभि-
 राशीर्भिरुत्तेजितमङ्गलेन ।
 भूयस्समासादि नृपात्मजेन
 ग्रामादमुष्माद्गुरूपदमूलम् ॥ (१३-७२)

अथ यौवराज्यमनवद्यं
 नृपतिवरलक्षणान्विते ।
 नीतिनिपुणहृदयो बलभे
 सचकार रामघटमूषिकेश्वरः ॥ (१४-१)

तमनल्पवित्तकुसुमाढ्य-
 मुदितकरुणाद्रिपल्लवम् ।
 कीर्तिपरिमलमुचं व्यलगन्
 अलिनां क्षमारुहमिवार्थिनां गणाः ॥ (१४-४)

सुकुमारचित्तवपुषं त-
 मभिजगुरनङ्गमङ्गनाः ।
 क्रूरहृदयचरितं सुतरां
 अपरं कृतान्तमरिपक्षयोषितः ॥ (१४-५)

वसुधाधिपहृदयेन य-
 दभिलषितं क्षणेन सः ।
 तत्तदकुरुत यथाभिमतं
 पुरुषस्य काय इव पार्थिवात्मजः ॥ (१४-६)

अथ केरलं प्रति स चोल-
 नृपतिमभियातुमुत्थितम् ।
 साह्यकृतमतिरमुं बलभं
 प्रजिघाय रामघटिमूषिकेश्वरः ॥ (१४-७)

प्रतिहत्य तं स घनरेणु-
 निवहापिहितार्करोचिषा ।
 तूर्यतुलितजलदध्वनिना
 प्रययौ बलेन सह दक्षिणां दिशम् ॥ (१४-८)

द्विरदाश्वयानगतयश्च
 कृतपरिकरैस्समं बलैः ।
 राजतनयमथ भूमिभृतां
 अनुससुराशु तनयास्सहस्रशः ॥ (१४-१२)

समतीत्य मार्गमतिदीर्घ-

मनतिबहुभिः प्रयाणकैः ।

क्वापि नृपतितनयस्सहसा

विहितोपकार्यमथ स स्म वीक्षते ॥ (१४-१४)

निजमण्डल.....पवेष-

निगदितविपत्तिमागतम् ।

कृतनृपतितनयाय लघु

प्रतिहारिकाथ पुरुषं न्यवेदयत् ॥ (१४-१५)

विहितः प्रविश्य गळिताश्रु-

लुलितनयनः प्रणम्य सः ।

स्वर्गमुपगतममुष्य गुरुं

निजगाद रामघटमूषिकेश्वरम् ॥ (१४-१६)

उपकर्ण्य चैतदुरुसत्त्व-

विशदहृदयोऽपि तत्क्षणम् ।

अश्रुकलिलनयनाम्बुरुहो

निममज भूयासि स शोकसागरे ॥ (१४-१७)

अथ विक्रमोपहितराम-

पदविरचिताह्वयं रिपुम् ।

प्राप्तमलभदभिवेश्य पुरः-

पदमाशु रामघटमूषिकाह्वयम् ॥ (१४-१८)

स्वकरं करेण स पिपेष

कुपितहृदयो मुहुर्मुहुः ।

हस्तगतमवनिपालसुतः

परिचूर्णयन्निव सपत्नमण्डलम् ॥

अथ तां विहाय गुरुवृत्तिं

अभिपतति मानसे रिपून् ।

तस्य तलमभिविसृज्य भुवनं

सहसैव दृष्टिरसियष्टिमस्पृशत् ॥ (१४-२२)

उदतिष्ठदाशु सबलेन
 कृतपरिकरेण संवृतः ।
 अर्थमथ तदभिषेदयितुं
 विससर्ज दूतमभिकेरलेश्वरम् ॥ (१४-२३)

तुरगाकुलेन सह तूर्ण-
 मथ निवृत्ते बलेन सः ।
 ग्राहनिवहगुरुणा पयसा
 विनिवृत्तवेले इव यादसां पतिः ॥ (१४-२४)

उपसृत्य नित्यसुसम्पन्न-
 विभवगुरुधर्मपारगम् ।
 तत्र सुगतमतिकारुणिकं
 शुचिमूलवासजुषमभ्यवन्दत ॥ (१४-२५)

प्रतिगृह्य च प्रवरजैन-
 जनकृतजयाशिषः ।
 कोपभरितहृदयस्सहसा
 प्रययौ परैरपहृतं स्वमन्दिरम् ॥ (१४-२६)

विहिताभिषेकमथ तत्र
 नरपतिविहारदुर्गमम् ।
 प्राज्यबलमुपरोध बहि-
 र्महता बलेन बलभस्समूषिकम् ॥ (१४-५०)

अगमत्क्षयं बलभसैन्य
 जलधिविसरेण भूयसा ।
 अथ समिति रिपुराजचमूः
 पृतनेव पाण्डवबलेन कौरवी ॥ (१४-५१)

पृथिवीपतिः प्रकृतिभिस्स
 निशि नयगतिं विबोधितः ।
 भूरिवलमपहाय ययौ
 प्रबले रिपौ गतिरियं हि भूभृताम् ॥

तीव्रप्रतापभरिताखिलदिग्विभागे

भूत्यै भुवः स्फुरति तन्न नरेन्द्रसूनौ ।

तत्याज मूषिकपतिस्स विहारदुर्गं

सूर्योदये तुहिनरश्मिरिवान्तरिक्षम् ॥ (१४-५५)

वध्यान्निहत्य बलभः प्रविहाय हेयान्

ग्राह्यान्प्रगृह्य परिपीड्य च पीडनीयान् ।

लक्ष्मीमथानुगुणयन्त्रयविक्रमाभ्यां

अहाय मूषिकभुवं स वशीचकार ॥ (१४-६०)

दृष्टारिकोपाशिखिना हृदि तप्तमूर्तेः

निर्वापणार्थमिव मङ्गलदेवतायाः ।

प्रावर्तत प्रकृतिपौरजनाभिरामः

पुण्ये विभोरहनि तस्य महाभिषेकः ॥ (१४-६१)

सांयात्रिकप्रहितपोतपथावतीर्ण-

द्वीपान्तरद्विगणसारवृतापणाढ्यं ।

किह्लासरिज्जलधिसङ्गमसन्निकृष्टं

माराहि नाम नगरं नृपतिश्चकार ॥ (१६-६६)

भूयश्चकार पृथुगोपुरभिन्नतुङ्ग-

प्राकारचित्रविहितातुलगुप्तिशोभम् ।

वर्धिष्णुखातसलिलं प्रथनातरङ्गैः

विभ्रत्सदा बलभपत्तनवृद्धिमुच्चैः ॥ (१४-६७)

शान्ते प्रशान्तविपदं शरणागतानां

चण्डेश्वरस्य वटुकेश्वरमन्दिरस्य ।

आखण्डलारिबलदुस्सहवीर्यमार्यं

भक्त्या सदेवमनयन्नुपतिः प्रतिष्ठाम् ॥ (१४-६८)

उत्तीर्णसागरजलेन कुलं रिपूणां

हत्वा बलेन हरिकुञ्जरभीषणेन ।

लङ्काह्वयं रघुपतिः परमेकमेव

द्वीपान्वहूनभृत रामघटेश्वरस्तु ॥ (१४-६९)

किरणेन शुभ्रगुणरत्नसंपदां
 यशसा शिवेन दशदिग्वि सर्पिणा ।
 मुखरीचकार कविलोकमूर्जितं
 बलभस्सरामघटमूषिकेश्वरः ॥ (१४-७१)

दृष्टान्तभूतचरितो महतां स राज्ञां
 दिष्टान्तमेव गलिते वयसि क्षितीशः ।
 अम्भोधिधीचिरशनां जगतीमनाथां
 भूयश्चकार चपलां भुवि राजलक्ष्मीम् ॥ (१४-७२) ॥

पतित इव नगो हिमेतरांशौ
 गलित इवापि च जीविते शरीरम् ।
 अशिवमतिरामशेषमाप
 धरणितलं रहितं नरेश्वरेण ॥ (१४-७४)

श्रीकण्ठ इत्यवरजोऽथ नृपस्य तस्य
 श्रीकण्ठपादसरसीरुहराजहंसः ।
 श्रीकण्ठनाथ इव शौर्यगुणेन हर्ष-
 श्रीकण्ठसङ्गिनि भुजे भुवमाससर्जे ॥ (१५-१)

पीनोन्नतस्थिरतरांसतटं प्रलम्ब-
 ज्याघातलाञ्छितकठोरतरप्रकोष्ठम् ।
 कौक्ष्यकत्सरुकिणाङ्गतलाङ्गुलीकं
 यद्बाहुदण्डमजितं भजते जयश्रीः ॥ (१५-२)

भर्ता फणीन्द्रशयनीयमिवेन्द्रिरायाः
 क्रोडं पितामह इवादिसरोरुहस्य ।
 कैलासशैलमिव च स्वयमेव देव-
 श्वेतो यदीयमधितिष्ठति शूलपाणिः ॥ (१५-३)

क्रीडाचलान्क्षितिधरेष्ववलोकितेषु
 जैत्रद्विपान्वनगजेन्द्रकदम्बकेषु
 भ्रष्टास्वराज्याविभवाद्यदरातिनार्यः
 स्रोतस्विनीषु च कृतास्सरितः स्मरन्ति ॥ (१५-८)

पुष्पाति यः प्रतिदिनं श्रियमाश्रितानां
पुष्पाति चैव विपदं प्रतिभूषतीनाम् ।

पाता भुवस्सकलसागरवारिसीम्नः

पाता च यस्सकलकाव्यकथामृतानाम् ॥ (१५-९)

धर्मानुकूलमसकृद्विदधाति योऽर्थं

धर्मार्थयोरनुगुणं च करोति कामम् ।

इत्येषु सन्निपतितेषु कृतात्मनां हि

वृत्तिर्बलाबलवशेन विचक्षणानाम् ॥ (१५-११)

सामादिभिः स्वविषयाचरितैरुपायैः

कार्याणि भूमिपतयः खलु साधयन्ति ।

सङ्कल्पमात्रघटितार्थविधिर्य एष

तिष्ठत्यचिन्त्यमहिमा भुवि कोऽपि देवः ॥ (१५-२३)

देवो मुकुन्द इव पन्नगवैरिलक्ष्मा

सोमान्वयप्रणयमीश इवादधानः ।

काले पितामह इवार्थितजन्यसर्गः

यश्शश्वदार्द्रसुमना मरुतामिवौघः ॥ (१५-२५)

प्रक्षीणशत्रुनिवहं परिवृद्धशक्ति-

षड्वर्गमोक्षचतुरं गजबन्धुयुक्तम् ।

एकातपत्रमथ नैकनरेन्द्रजुष्टं

यस्यास्तदोषमुदितार्थं विभाति राज्यम् ॥ (१५-३०)

स्वर्गं प्रदाय रिपेव धरणीं तदीयां

दत्त्वा वसु द्विजगणाय तदाशिषोऽपि ।

वक्षोमनोज्ञमपवर्ज्य विलासिनीभ्यो

गृह्णाति यः प्रतिदिनं हृदयानि तासाम् ॥ (१५-३४)

जीयाच्चिराय करवालसखेन दोष्णा

राजाऽयमप्रतिरथो भुवि राजवर्मा ।

पीत्वेति रक्तरसकं सह कामिनीभिः

नृत्यन्ति यस्य रणमूर्धनि यातुधानाः ॥ (१५-३५)

लक्ष्म्या प्रतीतयशसा भुवि कर्तृनाम्ना
 भर्ताह्वयेन च दधद्वटुकेश्वराख्याम् ।
 पुंसो वपुर्विधिरिवैष जरावतीर्णं
 भूयो नवं व्यधित मन्दिरमिन्दुमौलेः ॥ (१५-३६)

यच्चास्तभोगविकलं पुर एव तत्र
 ख्यातं गृहं खरवनाह्वयमीश्वरस्य ।
 कालेन तद्विघटितं समधत्त भूयः
 पक्षोपलक्ष्यमिव बिम्बमतिग्मरश्मेः ॥ (१५-३८)

यो हीरणेश्वर इति प्रथितः पृथिव्यां
 सौधाग्ररुद्धहरिदश्वरथाश्वमार्गम् ।
 जीर्णं कदाचिदवलोक्य तमेव दध्यौ
 देवस्य मन्मथरिपोर्दयितं निवासम् ॥ (१५-३९)

यस्यैव मूर्तिमतुलां सचराचरस्य
 वासं वदन्ति कृतिनो भुवनत्रयस्य ।
 भग्नाऽयमस्य वसतिः परमेश्वरस्य
 कष्टं भवेदिह जगत्यमुतः किमन्यत् ॥ (१५-४०)

विश्लिष्टसंचलमहोपलसन्धिवन्धं
 भग्नेक.....पतितजर्जरदारुखण्डम् ।
 शम्भोरिहैव निलयं प्रविशीर्यमाणं
 दृष्ट्वा ममाद्य झटिति स्फटतीव चेतः ॥ (१५-४१)

मूर्ध्नि च्युतावरणके मुहुरष्टमूर्तेः
 पादेषु वासरपतेः स्फुटमापतत्सु ।
 छायामिमां विदधता परितापहेतु-
 मर्थो ममाद्य क इवातपवारणेन ॥ (१५-४५)

दाक्षायणीघटितवामभुजं वरेण्यं
 भूयः करेण भुजगान्परिलालयन्तम् ।
 अभ्यासभित्तिबिलकोटरवासिनोऽमी
 सर्पास्त्यजन्ति न कृतज्ञतयेव शर्वम् ॥ (१५-४३)

शीतांशुखण्डतरले शिरसि स्मरारे-

र्यस्मिन्पपात सुरलोकसारिष्यवाहः ।

प्रासादभङ्गगतयो घुणचूर्णमिश्राः

तस्मिन्पदं दधति संप्रति वृष्टिधाराः ॥ (१५-४६)

सञ्छिन्नपर्व...मिति सार्थितपुण्यकर्ता

.....भगवत्त्रिपुरान्तकस्य ।

भूयश्चकार तदसौ प्रतिमावशेष-

मव्यक्तशेषमिव विष्टपमादिदेवः ॥ (१५-४७)

प्राप्ते पुनर्नवदशां वटुकेश्वरेऽस्मिन्

सोहीरणेश्वरपुरे खरकानने च ।

अर्थान्परैरपहृतानपरांश्च दत्त्वा

पूर्वोचितान्पुनरधत्त शिवोपहारान् ॥ (१५-४८)

रक्षोभुजाग्रतुलनच्युतसन्धिबन्धं

हित्वा गतास्तमिव राजतमद्रिराजम् ।

येष्वग्रचुम्बिततुषाररुचौ विमाने

वासं व्यधत्त भगवान् वृषराजकेतुः ॥ (१५-४९)

NO. 10.—MŪSHIKA VAMSA : A STUDY.

The name Mūshaka or Mūshika as applied to a country is met with in a hazy manner both in inscriptions and in literature. King Maṅgaḷēśa Raṇavikrānta of the Western Chālukyas of Baḍami mentions the Mūshaka country among the countries conquered by him, *viz.*, the Kēraḷa, Gaṅga, Pāṇḍya, Dramiḷa and Chōḷiya countries. From the proximity of the above mentioned countries to the Mūshaka country, we are led to infer that it must be somewhere in the southern Presidency. The name occurs also in some *purāṇas* with those of other countries. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* mentions that Malaināḍu was divided into four parts, namely :

" (1) The Tuḷu kingdom extending from Gōkarṇam to Perumpuḷa, *i.e.*, the Canaras (north and south very nearly as at present defined ;

" (2) The Kūpaka kingdom extending from Perumpuḷa to Puduppaṭṭaṇam, the seat of the Tekkankūr (Southern Regent) of the north Kōlāttiri dynasty situated on the Kōṭṭa river, *i.e.*, North Malabar as at present defined *less* the southern half of the Kuṟumbarnāḍu Tālūkā ;

" (3) the Kēraḷa kingdom extending from Puduppaṭṭaṇam to Kannetti, that is, South Malabar, including the southern half of the Kuṟumbarnāḍu Tālūkā ; and

" (4) the Mūshika kingdom extending from Kannetti to Cape Comorin, that is, South Travancore ". This division existed in so early a period as the reign of the first of the Perumāḷ kings, Kēya Perumāḷ and a subsequent Perumāḷ, by name Ārya Perumāḷ, also divided the Malaināḍu into the same four parts.

There is absolutely no mention in the Tamiḷ Nighaṇṭus both the earlier and the later ones, of any kingdom known as the Mūshaka kingdom.

The name of this kingdom occurs either as Mūshaka or Mūshika. Who the rulers of the Mūshaka kingdom were is not known from any source. Quite recently a manuscript containing a *kāvya* called the *Mūshikavamśam* was obtained and studied ; in the midst of a lot of legendary stories, we find a few grains of what appears to be real history, of which however epigraphy is utterly ignorant. If an analysis of its contents is published, it is hoped that it will help any one studying the history of the Mūshakavamśa from the epigraphical standpoint. An abstract of the *kāvya* is therefore given below. It will be found that the matter contained in the last *sarga* appear to be historical.

From the style of the composition, the *kāvya* seems to be a somewhat old one ; at the end of the second *sarga* it is stated that it was written by one *Atula* (*Atula kritau*) ; who he was and whatever other works he might have written cannot be found out at present.

Some portions of the first and subsequent *sargas* are left blank in the original—perhaps because the original was lost in those places, or the author had left them to be filled up subsequently ; the former is the more likely cause of the existence of such blanks ; however the following account is made out from the remaining portions of this *sarga*.

Sarga I.

While Paraśurāma was slaughtering the Kshatriyas, some one king was killed ; his queen who was then carrying attempted to commit *sati*, but the *purōhita* of the family dissuaded her from her determination, took her with him from the south to the north and hid her in a cavern and began supplying her with fruits, roots, etc., for her food. During his absence one day a rat as big as an elephant entered the cavern and was going to devour the lady ; when she cried aloud the *purōhita* came back ; from the burning anger in the eyes of the queen, fire arose and burnt the rat down. The soul of the rat appeared immediately in the form of the Parvatarāja (as a mountain) with his attendants, the *Vanadēvatās* (forest deities, *i.e.*, a mountain appeared covered with forests). The Parvatarāja astonished at his own change, began to narrate to the queen and her *purōhita* his previous history as follows :—

“ In this place, the *ṛishi* Kuśika was making penance, when I in the form of a rat happened to enjoy in his presence the company of my wife who had also assumed the form of a mountain rat and thereby offended him, he cursed me that I should become a rat and should not enjoy the company of my wife ; but by the intercession of my wife, it pleased the *ṛishi* to declare that the effect of the curse would leave me soon enough. It is my good fortune that you came here to wipe off the curse I was suffering under.” So saying the Parvatarāja disappeared, but the queen continued to live there till she was brought to bed of a male child.

Sarga II.

The *purōhita* performed all the *samskāras* for the child and gave him education in all branches of learning prescribed for Kshatriyas. Meanwhile the anger of Paraśurāma abated of its own accord ; he repaired to this Mount Ēḷi and performed, with the aid of Vasishṭha and other *ṛishis*, several *yāgas* to wipe off the sin of slaughtering the Kshatriyas. In the middle of one of these *yāgas*, there came an occasion when a Kshatriya was required to do something connected with the *yāga* ; Paraśurāma was despairing of getting a Kshatriya. To relieve the constraint in which the prince and his mother were living near the Mount Ēḷi, the Parvatarāja appeared before Paraśurāma, and informed him to his joy of the existence of a Kshatriya prince near by who, with his mother and *purōhita*, was hiding in Mount Ēḷi. With the permission of Paraśurāma, the child was brought before him and the ceremony connected with the *yāga* was finished. Pleased with the prince, he crowned him king of the country in which Ēḷi stood and performed the *paṭṭābhishēka* ceremony by pouring pots-full of consecrated water on his head. Because he was made the king of the Mūshika country and because he was bathed with pots (*ghaṭa*) of water by Paraśurāma, he was given the name Mūshika-Rāmaghaṭa and became famous under this name. As soon as the news of subsidence of the anger of Paraśurāma spread everywhere, those kshatriyas who had escaped his wrath, returned to their respective kingdoms and ruled over them. Mūshika-Rāmaghaṭa chose for his minister, a native of Māhishmati, of the Vaiśya caste by name Māhānāvika and made Kōla the capital of his dynasty. After making sufficient internal arrangements, Rāmaghaṭa embarked upon the project of conquering other kings ; before starting on this business, he desired to worship Paraśurāma on the Mount Ēḷi for which he left his capital Kōlam and reached a place resplendent with beautiful gardens where blew the wind from the river Vapra laden with the scents of the lotus and *utpala* flowers. He then crossed the river Kīḷā and proceeding by the seacoast reached Mount Ēḷi ; he circumambulated the hill with his armies.

Sarga III.

This chapter describes the hill in great detail in the fashion of *kāvya*s in general. Rāmaghaṭa ascended the hill and made obeisance to Paraśurāma.

Sargas IV, V and VI.

The king, without any pomp accompanied by his *purōhita* and a select few members of his army, ascended the hill, prostrated before Paraśurāma, obtained his blessing and a few arms which he was pleased to present, and started back to his capital. On the way he learnt that the king of Magadha, Mādhavarman, had taken away Māhishmati, one of the towns belonging to himself: thereupon he consulted with Mahānāvika his minister whether it was not imperative that he should punish Mādhavarman and then proceed on his *digvijaya*. The minister replied: "Sire, the news of your Majesty's tour of conquest must have necessarily reached the ears of the kings in the southern region and therefore it is rumoured that they have combined against you but are not yet ready to oppose you. If now we strike a blow at them, their countries will become ours. Then with the armies of the kings thus reduced to submission we may march against the Magadha king." The king took kindly to the advice offered by his minister, left a small contingent to protect his country which was naturally well guarded by the mountain fastnesses and started on an expedition against the kings of the Dakṣiṇāpatha; one by one all the kings were either conquered and subjugated or they themselves joined his camp as allies. He marched with their armies along the eastern sea coast and reached the foot of the Vindhya mountain and encamped on the bank of the river Rēvā. Mādhavarman collecting all the armies of his friends and subordinates of the Uttarāpatha, came to the very same spot where Rāmaghaṭa was camping. At first Rāmaghaṭa tried peaceful overtures through ambassadors with his opponent offering him many advantages if he submitted to his suzerainty without bloodshed. All his good counsels proved useless and a fierce battle was fought in which the king of Magadha was killed. Then Rāmaghaṭa took possession of Bhādrasēnā, the daughter of Mādhavarman and married her. He also installed on the throne of Magadha the son of Mādhavarman. While on his way back to his capital, he stopped for some days at Māhishmati, the capital of the Haihaya kingdom (which belonged to him).

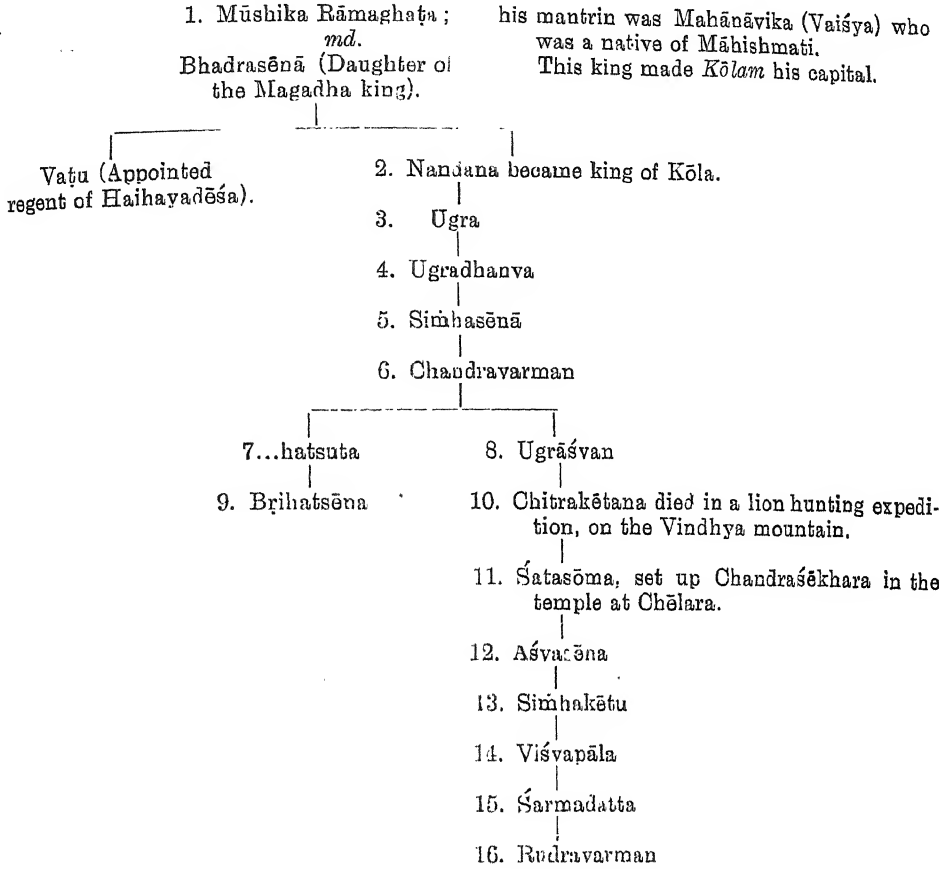
Two sons were born to him by Bhādrasēnā, named respectively Vaṭu and Nandana. Of these elder Vaṭu was made the king of Haihaya. On his return, the king Rāmaghaṭa performed several *yagas* and eventually, handing over charge of the government of the Kōla kingdom to his younger son Nandana, he retired to the forest, where he expired.

Sargas VII, VIII, IX and X.

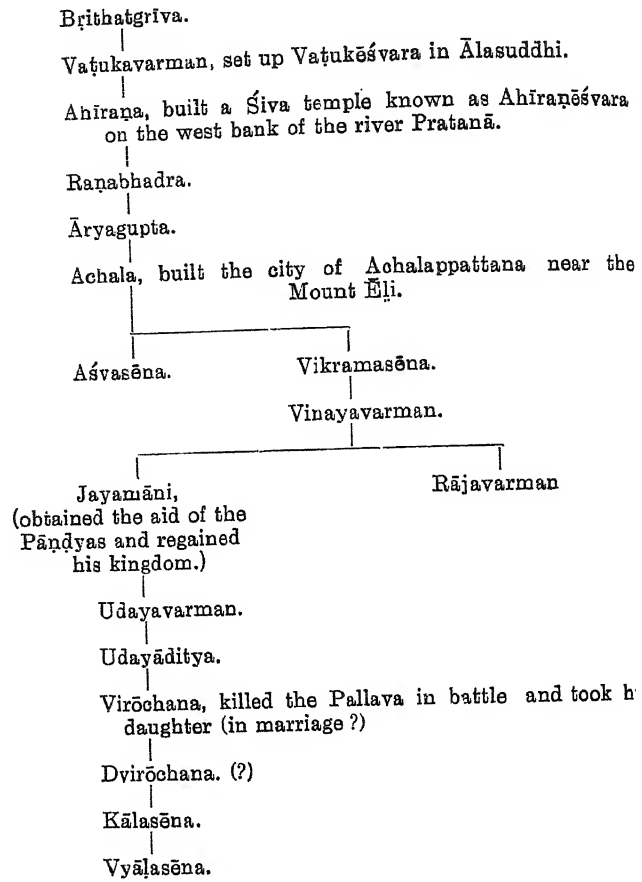
Nandana was an indolent prince who resigned all the functions of the government in the hands of ministers, and gave himself up to carnal pleasures. This and the other *sargas* describe, in the usual manner of the *kāvya*s, the various enjoyments indulged in by Nandana.

Sarga XI.

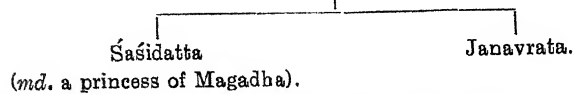
The following legendary genealogy is given in this *sarga* :—



Here are mentioned the following rather long list of names of kings who are said to have succeeded to the throne :—Vyāghrasēna, Prithudyumna, Vajradhara, Palāhaka, Bhīmavarman, Bṛihatsēna, Daksha, Atula, Nayavardhana, Mitrāsōma, Bhadra, Viravarman, Amitakratu, Jagadaśva, Suradyumna, Arjunavarman, Ugrabāhu, Jayāditya, Vratasēna ; these nineteen kings obtained from Śiva the boon of being able to live as long as they pleased. After having ruled the country duly, each one departed to the other world. Then came the kings Utpalāksha, Mahākirtti, Dēva-dyumna, Bṛihaddyuti, Ugra, Manu and Bṛihat-griva.

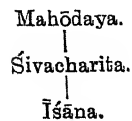


In this family were born Śatruntapa, Brīhadbāhu, Prithukīrti, Amitrajit and Dipanika;
 Dipanika.

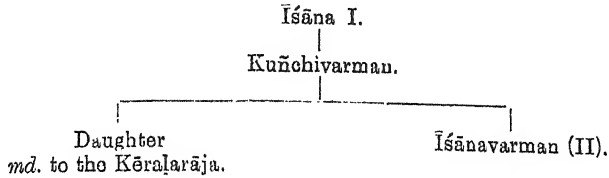


These two quarrelled for the throne and killed each other.

After these the following princes ruled the kingdom, namely, Vajrasēna, Sura, Viśē
 Mahasvan, Ajila, Pushkala, Bahukīrti, Sukētu, Vikaṭa, Sadhanva, Satyavrata, Chaturakē
 Svārbhānu, Uttamakala, Sakala, Adrikētu, Kāmaprada, Nayadhana, Kavikarkaśa, Parjan
 Nipātavarman, Turasvan, Sumati, Amitrabhavichanda (?) Akshōbhya, Samarasaha and Mahōda;
 the rest of the genealogy is as follows :—



It is from Kuñchivarman, the son of Īśāna the really historical portion of the genealogy begins.



Sarga XII.

Kuñchivarman died while his son was young. The time for the marriage of Īśānavarman II arrived; the minister suggested the following to his master: "The king of Chēdirājya, being ousted from his government and driven away lives *incognito* in the vicinity; he has got a daughter named Nandinī possessing all the desirable qualification for a queen." The prince accepted his proposal and married the daughter of the Chēdi king; Īśānavarman (II) the lord of Haihayadēśa, sent a large army and reinstated his father-in-law on his throne.

Meanwhile, the Kōraḷa king Raghupati *alias* Jayarāja had taken up arms against the Mūshaka king. This news enraged Īśānavarman so much that he marched his army to arrest the progress of the Kōraḷa forces. The two armies met on the bank of the river Parushni. The king Īśānavarman is known from now by the *hiruda* Raṇamāni. In the thick of the battle which ensued, Gōda *alias* Kōraḷakētu, the son of the Raghupati Jayarāja, interceded between his father and his maternal uncle and stopped the fight and persuaded them to make peace with each other; thus was peace concluded. After this event, the Kōraḷa king having stayed for sometime in Kōla the capital of his brother-in-law, returned to his country.

Īśānavarman had no children by Nandinī, the Chēdi princess; so he married a daughter of the Chōḷa king; she bore him a son named Nṛiparāma. Nandinī feeling herself too small before her co-wife devoted herself to the worship of the goddess Chāṇḍikā. The goddess was pleased with her devotion and granted her a son who was named Pālaka, and a daughter. The grandfather of Pālaka desiring to see his grandson sent for the child to his capital and the lad stayed away there for a long time.

The king Īśānavarman set up the figure of Śiva in several temples. After the death of Īśānavarman the people went to Pālaka to request him to assume the sovereignty which he declined saying while the elder Nṛiparāma was there, he should not yield to their request. After Nṛiparāma had reigned for sometime he died leaving behind a baby son: his name was Chandravarman. He also died shortly after he became king. The country became subject to foreign invasion and the Mūshaka country could not think of any other to assume the sovereignty of their kingdom except Pālaka. The people despatched emissaries to bring Pālaka for the Chēdi country. He came, conquered the enemies and became the sovereign of the Kōḷarājya. After him succeeded his nephew (sister's son) Validhara. This prince was attacked in his own place by the Gaṅga army which came from the foot of the Vindhya but was successfully repulsed by that of the Mūshaka king.

Ripurāma, the nephew of Validhara, succeeded him. After him came Vikramarāma, the son of Ripurāma. In the reign of this king, the sea began to encroach upon land and was almost

submerging the temple of *Jina*. By throwing large blocks of stone, he strengthened the shore and saved the temple from destruction. He was succeeded by Janamāni, Śaṅkhavarman and Jayamāni. When the poet refers to Kōla the capital of the kingdom, he describes it as situated on the bank of the river Prathanā and that it was surrounded by a powerful fort encircled by deep moats. It is stated that just as the proverb goes that in the *āsrāma* of those great beings who have attained the *siddhis*, beasts naturally inimical to each other live in harmony, so in the country of Mūshaka religions with dreadfully opposed doctrines flourished harmoniously.

Sarga XIII.

Valabha the powerful and eminent sovereign reigned next. Once upon a time the chief of Bhaṭasthali revolted against Valabha; the latter marched against the chief of Bhaṭasthali and drove him out of his country and conferred it upon Nṛiparāma, a member of his family.

Kundavarman, the younger brother of Valabha, succeeded his brother in the government of the Mūshika kingdom. He was renowned throughout the world as a wise and good sovereign and ruled his kingdom for a long time. He built the town named Nārāyaṇapura in honour of the god Viṣṇu.

After Kundavarman died, his nephew (sister's son), Pālaka ascended the throne, but died after a short reign. His relation, Ripurāma, the governor of Bhaṭasthali, took up the government of the Mūshaka-rājya and ruled over it in a commendable manner. Ripurāma was succeeded by Gambhīra, the nephew of Pālaka. On one occasion, the chief of Marupura intercepted the despatches of Gambhīra, which, coming to the knowledge of the latter, so excited his wrath that he started forthwith to punish the offending prince, met him in battle defeated and killed him and also set fire to his town and burnt it completely.

Gambhīra was succeeded by his younger brother Jayamāni. Nothing noteworthy is recorded of him except that he reigned for a long time. His nephew, Valabha, was appointed the *yuvārāja* of the Mūshaka-rājya. Valabha had a younger brother named Rājadharmā. When he was young, Valabha paid a visit to the flourishing brāhmaṇa village of Chellūra, which was retaining still the traits of a better age than the present Kaliyuga, where brāhmaṇas were learned in the Vēdas and were duly performing the various rites and ceremonies and where once lived the famous brāhmaṇas, Bhava and Nandi. When he approached Śambarapura, the suburb of Chellūra, the prince got down from his vehicle, walked to the famous temple of Viṣṇu in that town and offered obeisance to that deity. Then he went to the temple of Śiva constructed by Śatasōma and worshipped the god, who is said to be pleased with those who please the brāhmaṇas. The brāhmaṇas of that place requested him to have the temple repaired and this he ordered to be done immediately. Receiving the blessings of the brāhmaṇas of that village he returned to the capital where lived his uncle and other elders.

Sarga XIV.

Rāmaghaṭa, (this appears to be another name of Jayamāni) learnt that the king of Kēraḷa had started out to oppose the Chōḷa king who was invading his country and to assist the former he sent his nephew Valabha. After making obeisance to his uncle and obtaining his permission, Valabha proceeded southwards to join the king of Kēraḷa, with drums and bugles sounding. The journey was a long and tedious one and had to be done in several stages. One day, while camping

on his way, a messenger brought the sad news of the death of the king Rāmaghaṭa and the usurpation of the country by one Vikramarāma. The anger of Vaḷabha on hearing the latter news was even more than the sorrow for the death of his uncle. He proceeded straight against the usurper, after sending word to the king of Kēraḷa about the happenings in his country. On the way he paid a visit to the rich and flourishing temple of Sugata (Buddha) at the holy and righteous town of Mūlavāsa, worshipped the Lord of the temple, received the blessings of the Jaina (Bauddha ?) great men of that place and proceeded directly to the capital of his kingdom. As soon as he reached it, he laid siege to the fort in which Vikramarāma had taken his stand. Not being able to withstand the siege Vikramarāma secretly quitted the fort that night and escaped. Next morning Vaḷabha took possession of the fort and put to the sword such of the inmates as deserved capital punishment, drove away all useless men and took under his protection those that submitted to him peacefully, and assumed the sovereignty of his ancestral kingdom of Mūshaka. The priests performed the *abhishēka* (anointment) ceremony on an auspicious day by bathing him with sanctified water poured from golden vessels. The sight of this prince, covered with a coating of sandal paste and seated upon a golden throne resembled the elephant Airāvata standing upon the summit of the mount Mēru. As the fame of Vaḷabha began to spread the prosperity of other kings began to fall. He founded at the mouth of the river Kīḷḷa the port of Murāhi, which became replete with the articles of merchandize brought in ship from distant lands by foreign merchants. He also erected a fort with high walls, having lofty towers in them and surrounded by deep moats at Vaḷabharatṭaṇam. He also set up with great piety the god Ārya (Śāstā), whose prowess is dreaded by the *asuras*. The great hero Rāma (of the *Rāmāyana*) crossed the sea and conquered only one island, Lanka, but Vaḷabha took several islands. No other king possessed to that degree enthusiasm, liberality, power and other good qualities as did Vaḷabha. He was a great patron of learning and was highly praised by the poets of his time.

Sarga XV.

After Vaḷabha, Śrīkaṇṭha (= Rājadharmā ?), his brother, who was a devotee of Śrīkaṇṭha (= Śiva), ascended the throne. While referring to this king the poem distinctly states that he was living at the time of its composition. Throughout it employs the present tense in mentioning his qualities, which the poet describes in 36 verses and prays for his long life. It is stated that Śrīkaṇṭha was a very powerful king. He repaired the temples of Vaṭukēśvara and Abhiraṇēśvara; of these the latter was completely ruined and there remained only the image of the god Abhiraṇēśvara. He recovered all the lands belonging to the temples from those who had misappropriated them and himself granted to the temples more lands and riches. Thus gloriously was reigning the king Śrīkaṇṭha. (A large number of verses after this portion is left off in the only copy of the poem available to me). So far about the contents of the *kāvya*.

Let me now discuss a few points of historical interest in it in the next section.

(To be continued).

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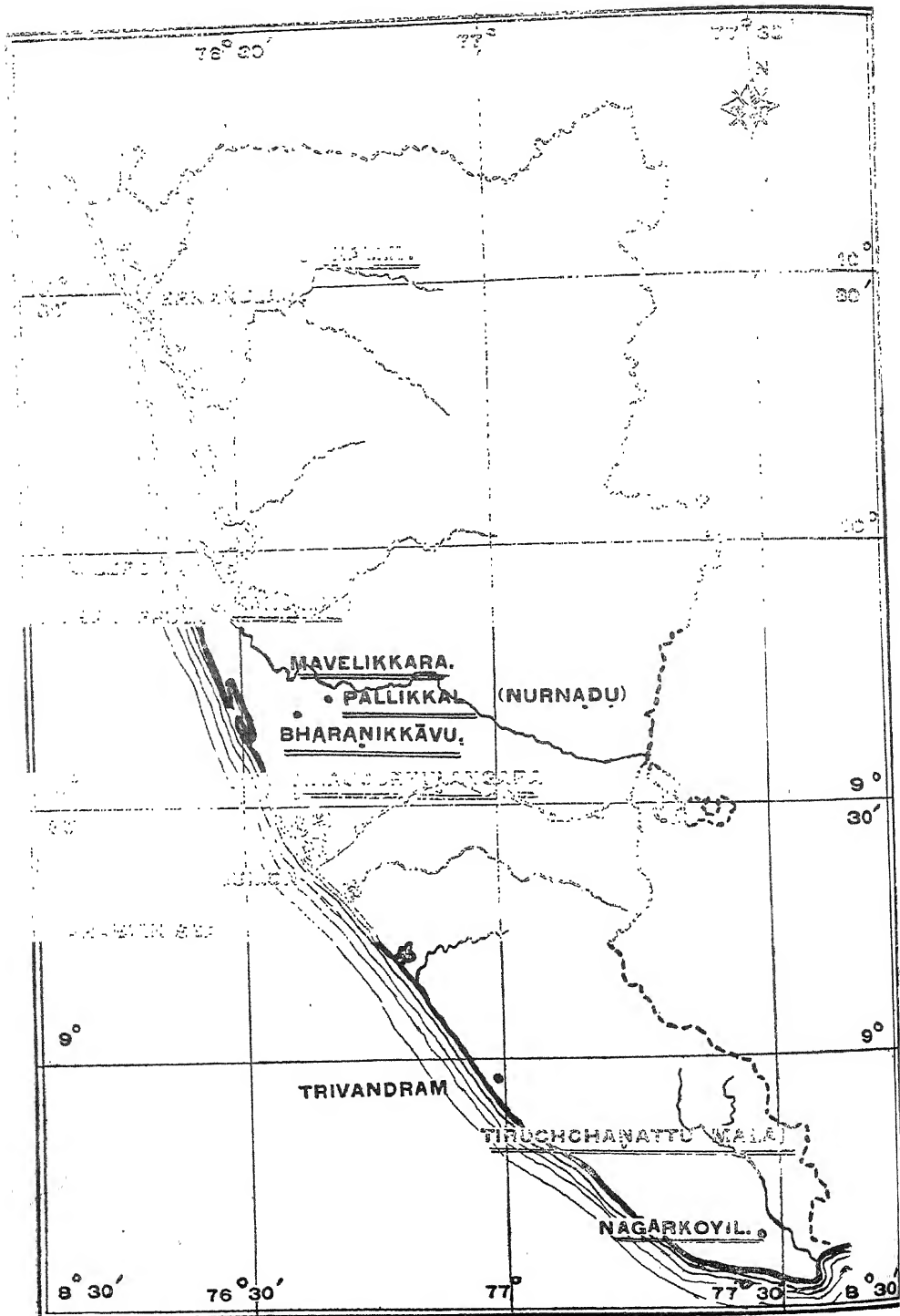
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES

Volume II, Part II.

JAINA AND BAUDDHA VESTIGES IN TRAVANCORE,

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

Map of Travancore showing the
Jaina relics.



BAUDDHA AND JAINA VESTIGES IN TRAVANCORE.

It is a well-known fact that the Bauddha and Jaina faiths had at one time held sway over the whole of India and claimed several millions of followers and that the former died out entirely, leaving behind a few of its vestiges in the land of its birth, while the latter still lingers in a precarious condition as a sort of fugitive faith, profoundly influenced by Hindu surroundings. The glory of these religious faiths is today treasured in the monuments they have left in many parts of India. The earliest known period in which the Bauddha religion came into S. India appears to be when Aśoka's mission arrived in the courts of the Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Kēraḷaputra kingdoms. We have lithic records in the Pāṇḍya country in which the alphabet employed is that of the Aśōkan period, engraved in places where there were Bauddha fraternities living.¹ The Jainas are said to have migrated into the south under the leadership of Bhadrabāhusvāmin.² The kings of the Drāviḍa countries were in early times adherents of Bauddha and Jaina faiths and had done much for these religions.³ The latest known record belonging to Buddhism was discovered by me in the Śiva temple at Tiruchchōpuram in the South Arcot District.⁴ It is fragmentary and belongs to the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (A. D. 1251) and refers to a gift of which the donor was a certain Śārīputra Paṇḍita and mentions the Śaṅgattārs. The name Śārīputra Paṇḍita coupled with the mention of the Śaṅgattār, evidently the Bauddha Saṅgha, stamps the inscription as a genuine Bauddha document. In the intervening period many south Indian kings who were of Hindu faith, have liberally patronised these non-Vaidic religions. The early Pāṇḍya king, Rājasimha II, according to the larger Śiṃṣanāṇḍur grant, is said to have given innumerable *paḷlichechandams*, land-grants made to non-Vaidic temples.⁵ Rājarāja the great, a very staunch Śaiva, granted the village of Āṇṇimaṅgalam to a Bauddha *vihāra* built at Nāgapattānam by a Burmese king named Mānavijayōttuṅavarman;⁶ the grants of the same king to the Jaina temple at Tirumaruṅḡḡḍai are recorded on stone in that temple.⁷

While thus the whole of S. India was for a long time under the spell of the Bauddha and Jaina religious faiths, Travancore, itself a portion of Drāviḍa, was

1. See *Ep. An. Rep.* for 1912, plate facing p. 57.

2. *Ins. at Sravana Belgola*, Intro. p. 5.

3. Kuṇṇ Pāṇḍya, the contemporary of Tiruṇḍānasambandha was a staunch Jaina; so also was the Pallava contemporary of both Tiruṇḍānasambandha and Apparsvāmigaḷ. Some kings of the Chālukya, the Rāshtrakūṭa, the Kadamba and the Hoysala dynasties were great patrons of Jainism.

4. No. 113 of the Madras Epigraphist's collection for the year 1904.

5. For instance, while referring to the king Rājasimha II the larger Śiṃṣanāṇḍur grant states that he gave several *brahmanḍiḡyas*, *devuḍḍams* and *paḷlichechandas*, names denoting the lands granted to the brāhmanas, to the Hindu gods and to the Jaina and Bauddha temples. The passage reads thus:—*நங்கோன் எண்ணிறந்த புவனத்தையும் எண்ணிறந்த பள்ளிச்சந்தமும் எத்திசையுமினிதி யற்றி &c.*

6. See *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* by Burgess and Naṭṭēśa Śāstri, pp. 204, 207 and 208.

7. Nos. 381 to 385 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphist's Collection.

equally, if not more, under their influence. The Bauddha faith was firmly established in the very centre of Malabar, in a place called Śrī Mūlavāsam, which is now under the sea. The large number of Bauddha images, photographs of which are reproduced hereunder, found in the Māvelikkara, Kuṇṇattūr, Karunāgappallī and Ambalappuḷai Tālūkās, clearly indicate the prevalence of the faith of Śākya-simha in all these parts and very likely these images represent at least as many temples of Buddha in as many places. In the article on the *Mūshaka-Vamśa*, I have stated, on its authority, that in the reign of the king Vikramarāma "the sea began to encroach upon land and was almost submerging under it the temple of Jina (*i. e.* Buddha). By throwing large blocks of stone, he strengthened the shore and saved the temple from destruction." This temple is said to have been that of Buddha at Śrīmūlavāsam, which was visited by Vaḷabha, the nephew of Gambhīra, when he was on his way back to his capital from a campaign in the south against the Chōḷa. This temple is referred to in the *kāvya* thus:—

प्रथितमिह जिनस्य श्रीनिकेतं कदाचि-

न्मुषितजनविपत्तेरालयं मूलवासम् ।

पृथुचटुलतुरङ्गक्षुब्धवेलातदान्तः

कवलयितुमुदन्वानुद्धतं व्याजन्मृम्भे ॥ १२, २६ ॥

उपसृत्य नित्यसुसमृद्ध-

विभवगुरुधर्मपारगम् ।

तत्र सुगतमतिकारुणिकं

शुचिमूलवासजुषमभ्यवन्दत ॥ १४, २५ ॥

This important temple of Buddha was indeed in a flourishing condition in the reign of the Āy king Vikramāditya Varaguna, that is, in the third quarter of the ninth century A. D. This king had granted in his reign extensive landed property to the temple in the year A. D. 868.¹ He also figures as a donee to the equally famous Jaina temple of Chitarāl in the Viḷavaṅḡōḍu tālūkā.² But by the time of the Mūshaka king Vaḷabha, the temple of Buddha at Śrīmūlavāsa was on the verge of ruin on account of the inroads of the sea. This must be ascribed to a time sufficiently posterior to A. D. 868; Vaḷabha is said to have marched south to join the army of the king of Kēraḷa who was attacked by the Chōḷa king. The earliest Chōḷa kings, so far as we know at present, who have attacked the Kēraḷa kings are Rājārāja I and his son Rājēndrachōḷa. The victorious campaigns of the former appear to have been limited to the extreme south of the Kēraḷa kingdom, whereas those of his illustrious son were directed against the Ilāmuri-dēśam (Sāmuri-dēśam?) and other parts of the Kēraḷa country. It is therefore more likely that the Chōḷa aggressor of the Kēraḷa king of the time of Vaḷabha was perhaps Rājēndrachōḷadēva I. The temple of Buddha at Mūlavāsam must have perished therefore in or about

1. The portion of the document referring to the grant reads thus:—மற்றுங்கோயிற்குரியதெல்லாமகப் படசிருமூலவாதத்து படாரர்க்கட்டிக்குடுத்த[து].

2. See *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, pp. 193-195.

the first quarter of the 11th century, just about the time, when another famous temple of Buddha, namely, the Chūdāmanivarma-Vihāra, came into existence on the opposite coast, at Nāgapattanam, on almost the same latitude as Mūlavāsam. It is interesting to note that Vikramāditya Varaguna who is the son of Kōkkarunanda-ḍakkaṇ, the builder of the Vishṇu temple at Pārthivaśekharaapuram, perhaps himself a staunch Hindu, begins his document with invocations to Buddha (Śauddhō-dani), Dharma and Saṅgha.¹

That Śrīmūlavāsam was of great celebrity in ancient times is proved by the discovery of an image of Lōkēśvara by M. Foucher in Gandhāra bearing the following short inscription on it:—

“दक्षिणापथे मूलवासलोकनाथ”²

The use of the term *Dakṣiṇā-patha* removes all doubt about the situation of Śrīmūlavāsam. If a duplicate of the image of the Lōkēśvara was set up for worship even in such a distant country as Gandhāra, there is not the least doubt about the great sanctity with which the original was held by the Bauddhas all over the world. The presence of such an all important temple of Buddha must necessarily have induced people to erect more temples to this deity in all the adjacent parts, and this might account for a number of images all of which are found practically in one place, that is, near Śrīmūlavāsam.

There is a tradition in Malabar that the last of the Chēramān Perumāls became a Bauddha and went away somewhere in a ship leaving his kingdom to a number of his relations and dependents. It is believed by the word Bauddha, which is today applied in Malabar to all *avāidika* religions, is meant Muham-madanism and the land to which Chēramān Perumāl sailed away was Arabia. It is very likely that he actually became a Bauddha under the influence of the Bauddhist teachers at Mūlavāsam.

Again, a large portion of the flourishing trade of the Malabar Coast was in the hands of the Chinese before the advent of the Arabs. Marco Polo refers to the ships of Manzi, that is, China south of the Hwang-ho river, coming to Malabar Coast; says he, “Ships come hither from many quarters, but especially from the great province of Manzi; coarse spices are exported both to Manzi and to the West.”³ Al Kaswin writing some time between A. D. 1263 to 1275 his account about India, which was gathered from the works of others, states curiously enough while writing about “Kulam, a large city in India” that, “when their king dies the

1. The following are the verses referred to above:—

यः कल्याणमयः स्वयं वितनुते यः कल्पकस्य स्थितिं यस्मादभ्युदितस्तमांसि हरते सद्धर्मधर्मद्युतिः ।
यत्पादाश्रयिणो भवन्ति सुखिनस्सर्वे गणाः प्राणिनान्धेयान्मेहरिवापरस्त्रिजगतीं सर्वां स शौद्धोदनिः ॥ १ ॥
आत्माकारग्रहणविमुखावाहतापाङ्गलीलौ प्राप्तौ नित्यं श्रुतिमतितृषानेकरूपावबोधौ ।
देव्या भूमेर्निखिलकुमतिध्वान्तरोधान्विताया नेत्रायेतां जितकुवलयौ धर्मसंघौ चिराय ॥ २ ॥

2. *L'Iconographie Bouddhique* par A. Foucher, Part I, p. 105, Pl. iv, No. 5.

3. Logan's *Malabar*—p. 285.

people of the place choose another from China." If this were true, there might have been a colony of Chinese at Quilon as is surmised in a foot-note by Mr. Logan.¹ If there existed large colonies of Chinese in Malabar before the 13th century, there is no wonder in Buddhism having been a flourishing religion in that region.

The *Mānasāra* has the following concise description of the image of a Jaina Tīrthankara; for various reasons though the work appears to be of South Indian origin, the description given in it of the image of Jina is closely followed throughout India and other countries in sculpturing it:—

अथ स्थावरजङ्गमलक्षणं प्रारभ्यते—
 स्थावरं जङ्गमं चैव लक्षणं वक्ष्यतेऽधुना ।
 द्विभुजं च द्विनेत्रं च मुण्डतारं² च शीर्षकम् ॥
 ऋजुस्थानकसंयुक्तं तथा चासनमेव च ।
 समाङ्घ्रि.....³लम्बहस्तद्वयं तथा ॥
 आसनं च द्विपादौ च पद्मासनं तु संयुतम् ।
 ऋजुकं च ऋजोभावं योगान्तत्परमान्तकम्⁴ ॥
 सव्यासव्यहस्तं च मूलोर्ध्वोर्ध्वमुखं करो ।
 स्थानकं चासनं वापि सिंहासनोपरि न्यसेत् ॥
 अपरे तु निव्यूहं कु⁵ ।
 नारदादिऋषिर्देवान् संगैस्सह देवते ॥
 यक्षविद्याधराद्यैश्च चक्रमन्त्र्यादिभूपतिम् ।
 नागेन्द्राय च⁶ दिक्पालान् यक्षैश्च सह सेवितान् ।
 यक्षयक्षैश्चैव पार्श्वे चामरौक्षतसेवितान् ॥
 चतुक्रियान्तरिक्षे तु तस्योद्योजनसेवितान्⁷ ॥
 स्फटिकश्चेतरक्तं च पीतश्यामनिभं तथा ।
 सिद्धादिश्च सुगन्धश्च जनं चाहन्तु पार्श्वकम् ॥

1. Ibid. p. 282, also foot-note 6.

2. Read मुण्डाकारं.

3. The blank may be filled up with स्थानकं कुर्यात्.

4. Could the reading be योगतत्परमानसम्?

5. अपरे तु मुनि ?

6. Could it be नागेन्द्रारूढ ?

7. जिन ?

एतत्पञ्चपरमेष्ठिपञ्चवेरं यथाक्रमम् ।
 उत्तमंदशतालेन देवाङ्गैस्सह मानयेत् ॥
 चतुर्विंशतितीर्थानां दशतालेन कारयेत् ।
 नीराहरणसर्वाङ्गं¹ निरस्ताङ्गं मनोहरम् ॥
 सव्यवक्षस्स्थले हेमवर्णं श्रीवत्सलाञ्छनम् ।
 द्वारे चण्डं महाचण्डं कुर्यात्सव्यापसव्यके ॥
 एवं तु शिरमित्युक्तं² शेषमागमकोक्तवत् ।

Chap. 55.

That is,

The image of Jina should have only two arms, two eyes and a cropped head, either standing with legs kept straight or in the *ābhaya* manner; or it may be seated in the *padmāsana* posture, wherein also the body must be kept erect. The figure should be so sculptured as to indicate deep contemplation; the right palm should be kept facing upwards upon the left palm held in the same manner (and both of them resting upon the crossed legs). On the *simhāsana* on which the image of Jina is seated (and round the *prabhāvali*) should be shown the figures of Nārada and other *rishis*, hosts of gods (and goddesses), Vidhyādhara, the Dikpālas seated upon elephants, Yakshas and Yakshēśvaras and others, as either seated or standing in the air and offering worship to the Jina.

Below the *simhāsana* must be the figures of (other) Jinas in a worshipping attitude; these are the *Siddhas* (or *ādisiddhas*?), the *Sugandhas* (*Sugatas*?), *Chāhantu* (*chārhanatas*, i. e., Arhats?), *Jana* (Jina?) and *Pārśvakas*; these five classes are known by the name of *Pañcha-paramēshṭins*. The complexion of these are respectively that of the *sphaṭika* (crystal), white, red, black and yellow. The central Jina figure should be shaped according to the *uttama-daśa-tāla* measure, whereas those of the *dēvatās* and the 24 *Tirthaṅkaras* surrounding him in the other (*madhyama* and *adhama*) *daśa-tāla* measure. The body should be perfectly free from ornaments, but on the right side of the chest (a little over the nipple) there should be the *Śrīvatsa* mark of golden colour.

On the right and left of the gate of the temple of Jina there should be the *Dvārapālakas* named Chanda and Mahāchanda respectively.

The *Brihat-Saṃhitā* devotes a verse each to the description of the images of Jina and Buddha and they are as follows:—

पद्माङ्कितकरचरणः प्रसन्नमूर्तिः सुनीचकेशश्च ।
 पद्मासनोपविष्टः पितेव जगतो भवति बुद्धः ॥

1. Read either निरावरणं or निराभरणं.

2. Read जिनमित्युक्तं.

आजानुलम्बबाहुः श्रीवत्साङ्कः प्रशान्तमूर्तिश्च ।
दिग्वासास्तरुणो रूपवांश्च कार्योऽर्हतां देवः ॥

Bṛihat-Saṃhitā, Chap. *Pratimā-lakṣhaṇam*, vv. 44 & 45.

The description of the image of Buddha is given in the *Mānasāra* thus:—

बौद्धस्य लक्षणं वक्ष्ये सम्यक् च विधिनाधुना ।
जनदेवास्थिरं¹ युक्तं स्थानकं च विशेषतः ॥
स्थानकं चासनं वापि सिंहासनादिसंयुतम् ।
अत्यर्थवृक्षसंयुक्तं² कल्पवृक्षं नयान्न्यसेत् ॥
शुद्धं तु श्वेतवर्णं स्यात् विशालाननसंयुतम् ।
लम्बकर्णायताक्षं स्यात् तुङ्गघोणं स्थिताननम् ॥
दीर्घबाहुं विशालाक्षं वक्षस्थलं च सुन्दरम् ।
मांसलाङ्गं सुसंपूर्णं लम्बोदरपूर्णकृतिः ॥
समपादस्थानकं कुर्याल्लम्बहस्तं सुखासनम् ।
द्विभुजं च द्विनेत्रं च उष्णीषोज्ज्वलमौलिकम् ॥
एवं तु स्थानकं कुर्यादासनादि यथोक्तवत् ।
पीताम्बरधरं कुर्यात्स्थानके चासनेपि च ॥
पीतं वामभुजे चोर्ध्वे सार्धकं सदना.....।
.....वापि दारुशैलं च लोहजम् ॥
चित्रं वा सा(?प्य)र्धचित्रं वा चित्राभासमथापि वा ।
पीठे वा भित्तिके वापि कुर्यात्कीर्तिं च शर्करा ॥
उत्तमंदशतालेन.....त्वङ्गमानकम् ।
शेषं प्रागुक्तवत् कुर्यात्तत्तदागमवद् बुधः ॥

Chap. 56, *Bauddha-lakṣhaṇa-vidhānam*.

That is,

The image of Buddha may be sculptured either as standing or seated upon a *simhāsana* or other seats; when shown as seated upon a *simhāsana* there should be, in addition to the *kalpaka* tree,³ the peepal (*aśvattha*) tree shown in the sculpture.

1. Read जिनदेवा⁰.

2. Read अश्वत्थ⁰.

3. The *kalpaka* tree should always be shown behind the *simhāsana*; see *simhāsana-lakṣhaṇa* in my article on "Kings Crowns and Thrones" in the *Modern Review* for 1917.

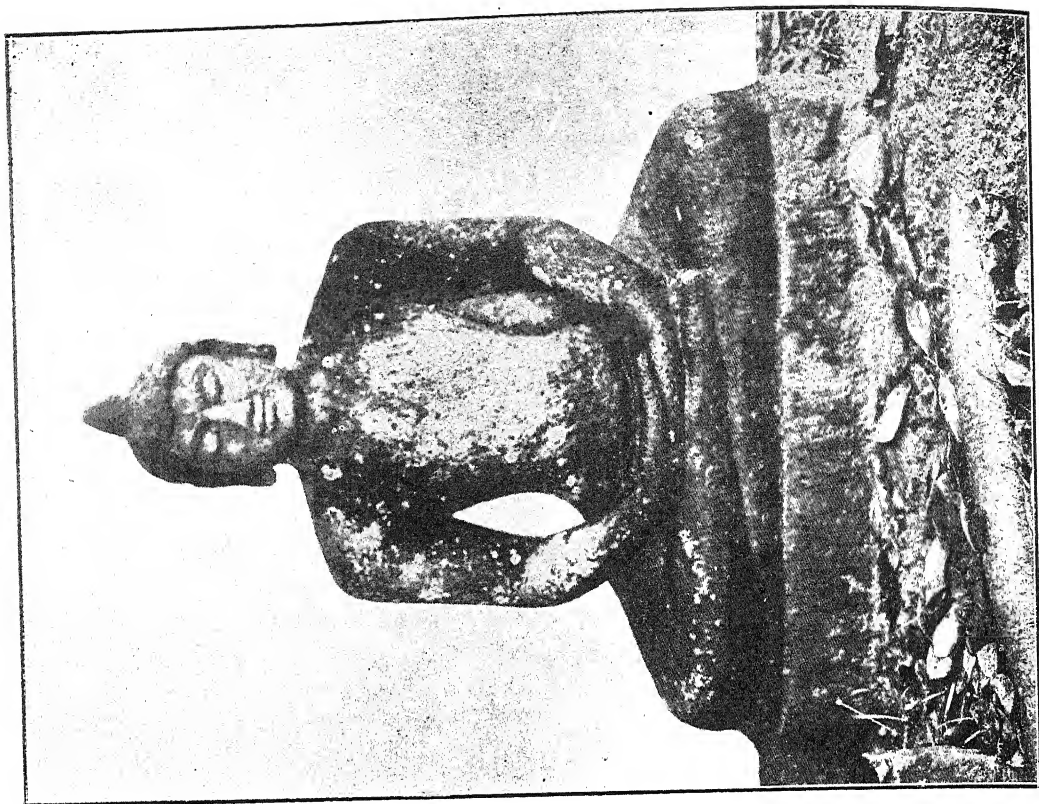


Fig. 2. Mavalikarai Buddha. Height about 2' 6".
Museo Poma block by the Calcutta Phototype Co.

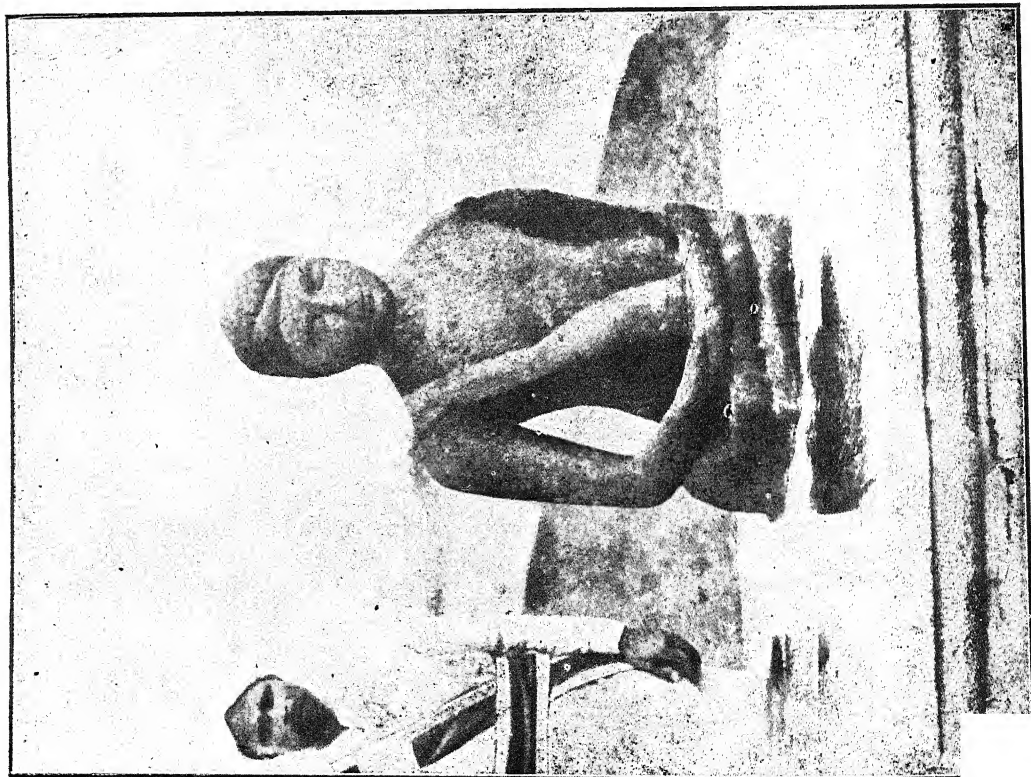


Fig. 1. Karumadi Kuttan. Height about 3 ft.

Fig. 1. Karumadi Kuttan. Height about 3 ft.

The figure of Buddha should be of white colour, with a broad smiling face, the ear-lobes (which are to be pierced) hanging, having broad and long eyes, prominent nose, long arms, beautiful chest, slightly fatty limbs and a somewhat hanging belly. The image of Buddha should have only two eyes and a pair of arms; its head should possess the *ushnīṣa* (the hair on the scalp) which should be done up in the shape of a *kirita*. In the case of the standing image, the legs must be placed straight (without bends, such as are seen in the case of *ābhaya* images, about which, see my "*Elements of Hindu Iconography*", Vol. I, Appendix B.). Whether seated or standing, the image must be clothed in yellow robes. The figure of Buddha may be made of wood, stone or metal; it may be carved in the round, in half-relief or may be painted on the wall; and it must be sculptured according to the *daśa-tāla* measure.

Dr. Ānandakumārasvāmi has given in his excellent book, the *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, on the authority of a Ceylonese *Śilpa-sāstra* called the *Śārīputra*, iconometric measurements of the image of Buddha. The most interesting point to be noted in these measurements is the proportion of the distance between the knee and its opposite shoulder e. g., between the left knee and the right shoulder to its total height, which is a practical test for assuring oneself if the image is sculptured in accordance with the *sāstra* (*sāstrōkta*), or not.

I have been able to discover no less than five images of Buddha in Central Travancore. The first is so well-known to the Travancoreans as the Kuṭṭaṇ of the village of Karumāḍi. By the side of the public canal to the west of the Kāmapuram temple, near Karumāḍi, there is seated the image of Kuṭṭaṇ made of black stone. Its left hand is broken and lost. Local tradition says that it was one of the many minor deities sent out from Cheṅgaṇṇūr for the destruction of Dēvaṇārāyaṇa, the brāhmaṇa king of Ambalappuḷai and that the presiding deity of Kāmapuram caught hold of one of them and petrified and fixed him there. Another story regarding this image is that when the Vilvamaṅgala Svāmiyār was passing along, a Pulayaṇ (the lowest caste man) polluted him by approaching him and the sage, in anger, is said to have cursed him to become a stone.

The neighbours propitiate the image by offerings whenever their cattle or children get ill. People passing along in boats also make offerings of cocoanuts &c. to it.

That Karumāḍi Kuṭṭaṇ is a Bauddha and not a Jaina image becomes patent from the *Ushnīṣa* and the *Jvālā* on its head and traces of the upper cloth passing over the chest. It is almost three feet in height and is seated in the *Yōgāsana* posture. It was recently removed from the canal, where it lay in water for several years, and set upon a masonry pedestal on dry ground by the enlightened Chief Engineer of the State, Mr. A. H. Bastow, M. A., M. C. E., M. I. C. E. (Pl I, fig 1).

The second image of Buddha was discovered in the compound attached to a house near the Traveller's Bungalow at Māvelikkara. It is nearly three feet in height, including the pedestal upon which it is seated. It is in a very good state of preservation. The owner of the house states as an objection to its removal to the Napier Museum at Trivandrum that at times it is worshipped by some people by

lighting a lamp near it and offering cocoanuts etc, and its removal will therefore be regarded as sacreligious by them. The *ushnīṣha*, *jvālā* and the uppercloth could be very well noticed in photograph of the figure reproduced below. The uppercloth which is worn in the *upavīta* fashion comes behind the body and the left arm; therefore it is that the sculptor in this and other instances has left the stone uncut, while in the corresponding interspace between the right arm and the body it is cut (See fig. 2 Pl. I and figs. 1 and 2 Pl. II).

The third illustration is the reproduction of the photograph of the image of Buddha at Bharanikkāvu, a suburb of that Paḷḷikkal which is near Māvēlikkarai, and is situated at a distance of five miles to the north-west of Māvēlikkara. It is very elegantly executed and is in an excellent state of preservation; its total height including the pedestal is about two feet. The upper cloth, more especially the many-folded piece passing over the left shoulder and lying flat on the chest, has come out very well in the photograph. The usual *ushnīṣha* and the *jvālā* on the head distinguish it from the images of the Jaina Tīrthankaras, which do not have these characteristics peculiar to the Buddha images. (Pl. II, fig. 1).

The fourth illustration comes from another village named Paḷḷikkal, but which belongs to the Kuṇṇattūr Tālūkā; it is situated at a distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Aḍūr, the head quarters of the Kuṇṇattūr Tālūkā and has no roads within three miles from it.¹ In a plot of land belonging to a Malayāli there is a portion left covered by jungle, in the middle of which was seated mortised on a pedestal consisting of a separate slab of stone, a headless image of Buddha, which is almost of the same size and shape as the Bharanikkāvu image. Search was made in vain for the detached head. The owner of the plot of ground was under the impression that this strange deity, locally known as Puttarachchan, was causing illness to the inmates of his house. He was glad to part with it to me for a small consideration, if only I dared to remove it myself from its situation. I consented to bear the sin or virtue of removing it and bought it from him at my cost for presenting it to the Museum at Trivandram. He was pleased to get rid of it, because he could clear the jungle and reclaim the land for cultivation. The mortice under the *padmāsana* of the image was cut off and the image removed with some difficulty to the Trivandram Museum, where it is placed in the Archaeological Section.

In this image, which is not dissimilar to the Bharanikkāvu one, the characteristic feature is, the *padmāsana* upon which it is seated. The petals of the lotus are sculptured in low relief (both the *adhahpadma* and the *ūrdhwapadma*). The cloth worn by it is shown running over the two ankles, the chest and the shoulder; the folded portion of the cloth is thrown on the left shoulder and descends down the chest. (See fig. 2, Pl. II).

The fifth image of Buddha, whose photograph is reproduced below, was discovered in the village of Marudūrkuḷaṅgara in the Karunāgappalḷi Tālūkā of the

1. It is interesting to note that at this place there is a plot of ground, very near the site at which this image was found, known locally as the Puttarkāḍu and a tank near the same which is called the Puttarkuḷam. Be it also noted that all the places called Paḷḷikkal seem to be associated with the Buddha worship.



Fig. 1. Bharamikkavu Buddha. Height about 2 ft.
Photo by T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

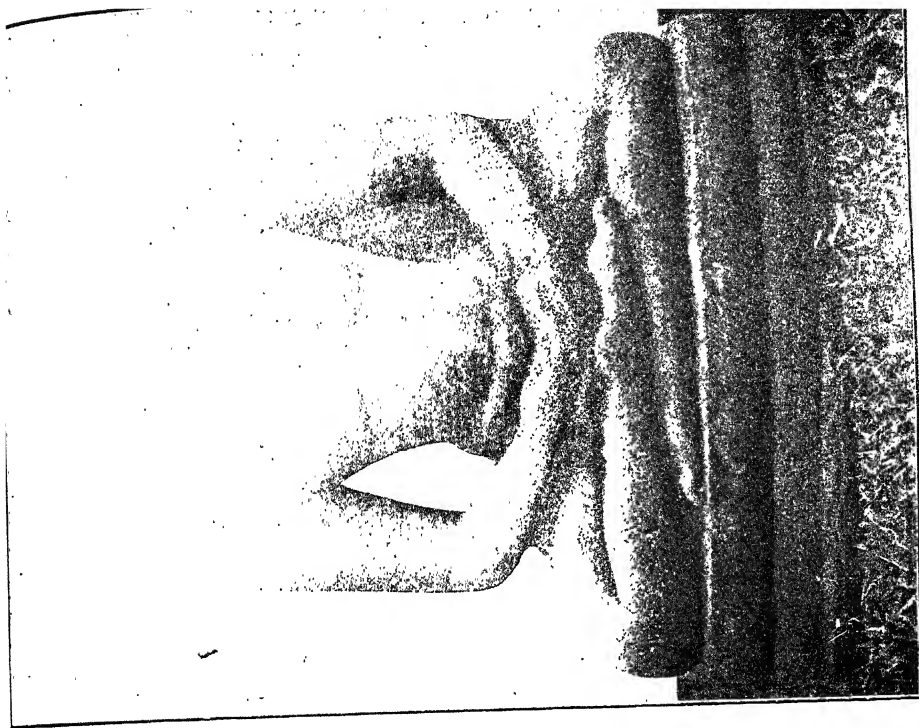


Fig. 2. Pallikkal Buddha. Height about 2 ft.
Half-Tone block by the Calcutta Phototype Co.

PLATE III.



Image of Buddha found at Marudurkulangarai near Karunagappalli.

Quilon Division. It was seated on the bank of a tank locally known by the name of the Paḷḷikkal-kuḷam, opposite a Nāyar house known as the Paḷḷikkal house. The image, as might be seen in the photograph, is in a good state of preservation; the *padmāsana* on which it must have originally been seated is now lost. Arrangements have been made to remove it to the Napier Museum for preservation in the Archaeological Section of it.

Some scholars have taken objection to my naming my work "*The Elements of Hindu Iconography*", while I had, as they observed, actually described only South Indian images and they proposed to me that the name "*Elements of South Indian Iconography*" would be better suited for it. This suggestion of theirs is based upon their conception that the *āgamic* descriptions were meant for application only to South Indian images; they did not perceive that the descriptions were closely followed in the making of North Indian images also; in other words, the descriptions are of universal application, whether the images were found in the south or the north portion of India, in Burma, Siam, China, Japan, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon or Turkistan. The only differences noticeable in the images of various countries are their facial appearance and their costume. The above observation is exemplified in the description of an image of Buddha found in western China: "The niche is rectangular and measures 2m 70cm in width and 2m 75cm high. The walls are carved sufficiently coarsely; but the personage whom it shelters, very nearly detached from the rock, is of surpassing elegance; it has a supple body, fine (slender) waist, seated upon a ledge of the wall, highly bending upon the river, the right leg crossed horizontally upon the other. The attachment of the hands (which are wanting) is very strongly joined. The trunk is bare under a scarf thrown upon the left shoulder. A clothed tunic covers the belly and models the thighs and legs, the head-gear is big and richly ornamented. The visage is destroyed by voluntary (wanton) mutilation. But two beautiful twisted curls of hair encircle still."¹

From the map of Travancore given at the beginning of this article, it will be observed that all the places where images of Buddha were discovered are within half a minute of the latitude and longitude of the earth; while the Jaina centres of worship are on the extreme north and south of the State. From the fact that all the Buddha images are found in Central Travancore, I am inclined to think that the famous Buddha temple of Śrīmūlavāsam must also have been situated on the sea-coast very near these places, say near Tirukkunnappuḷai or Ambalappuḷai. From an inscription found in the Viṣṇu temple adjoining the temple of Śāsta at Tirukkunnappuḷai we learn that the structure of the temple originally stood on the sea-coast and that finding that it was in danger of being washed away by the sea, an ancestor of the Idappalli Rājā dismantled it and reconstructed it in the place where it is now found. This statement clearly shows that even within recent times the sea had been encroaching upon land near Tirukkunnappuḷai, and that it must have swallowed the Śrīmūlavāsam Bauddha temple some centuries ago.

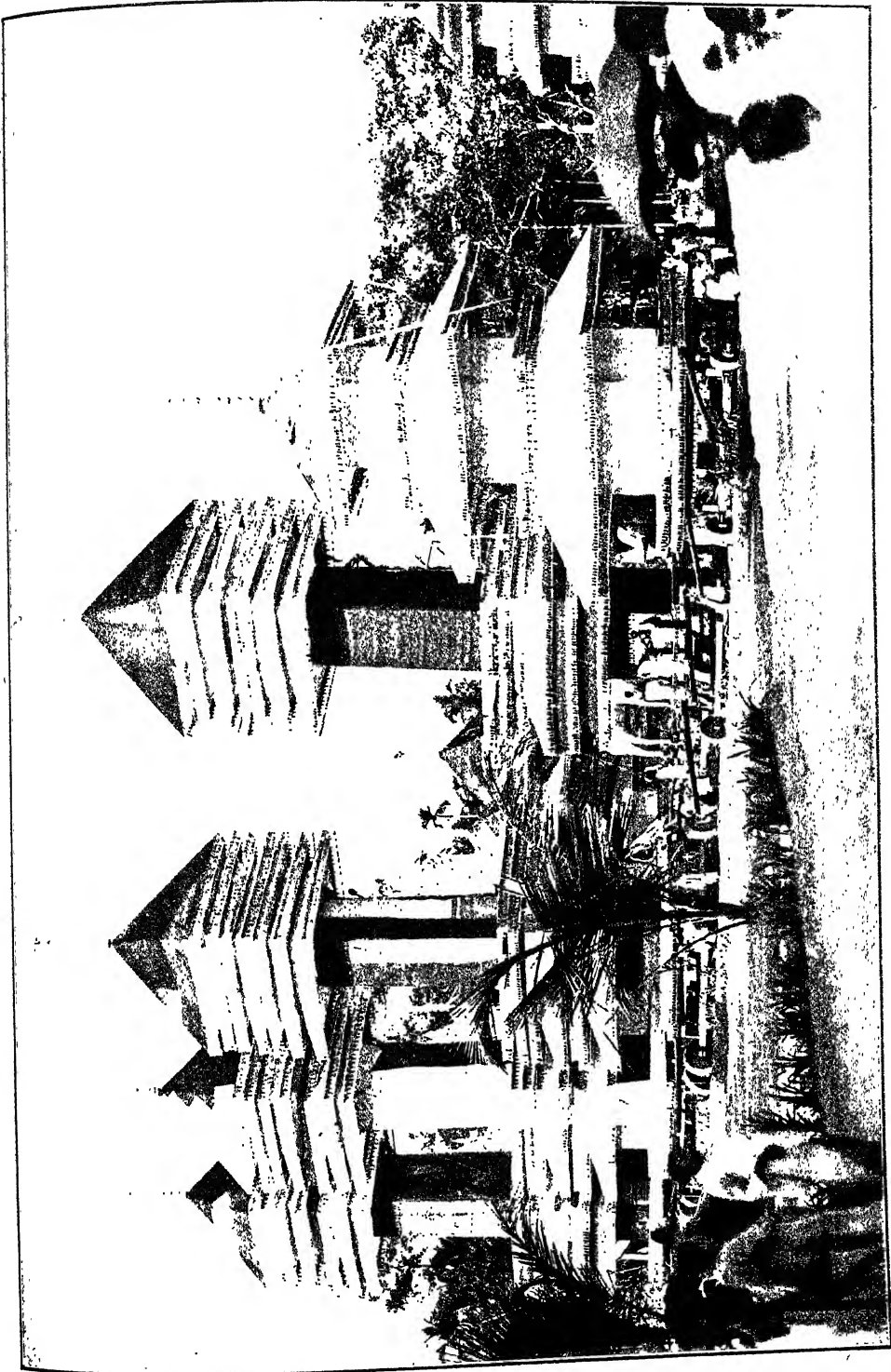
The belief among the teachers of history in our schools and colleges is that Buddhism died in the land of its birth not long after its birth, and that the Brāhmaṇas killed it and drove away all its followers. From what we have said above, it would

1. May-June 1916, Premier Exposition of Archaeological results obtained in Western China by the Mission Gilbert de Voisins, Jean Lartigue and Victor Segalen (1914), *Review Asiatique*.

be patent that in Southern India Buddhism flourished till about the end, at least, of the 13th century A. D. I should direct the attention of the readers to my article on the "*Buddha Vestiges in Kāñchīpura*", wherein would be found some more interesting information regarding Buddhism in Southern India. The article is published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIV. Since the publication of this article, I have discovered seven more Buddha images in and near Ēkāmrānātha-svāmi temple at that place. Dr. Kern, the eminent authority on Buddhism, is of opinion, I believe a very correct one also, that the downfall of Buddhism is due to Muhammadans. Mr. Nāgēndranāth Vāsu has traced Buddhism in modern India in his interesting book entitled "*Modern Buddhism*" which must be studied carefully by every student of Buddhism, as it contains much valuable information.

The village of Cheṭṭikkulaṅgarai, situated at a distance of about two miles from Māvēlikkarai, has a temple of Bhagavatī, who is held in great veneration by the Hindus living round it. A grand festival is celebrated to the goddess in the month of Kumbham (February) when the surrounding villagers (*karaiṅkārs*) exhibit twelve or thirteen elegantly constructed cars. This exhibition is locally known as *Kaṭṭukāḷchchai*. These are erected with upright poles to which are tied cross pieces and the whole covered with white cloths and ornamented with others of different colours. These temporary structures are mounted upon wheels and dragged in front of the temple. It might be noticed from the photograph (Pl. IV) that there are two varieties of cars, one a slender, tall and graceful sort (situated on the left) and another which resembles almost exactly a Nepalese wooden temple (and which is seen on the right of the photograph). The former is somehow curiously called a *kudirai* (a horse) and the latter a *tēr* (a car). The *kudirai* has five tiers at the bottom and seven members in the crowning piece. The latter might correspond to the seven umbrellas, sacred to Buddha and is generally seen surmounting *dagobas*. In the *tēr* (car) are generally three storeys. No one of the local men is able to explain the origin and nature of this most extraordinary custom, which prevails there, in Quilon and in one or two places only. To me it appears to be a relic of the Buddha festivals in which were actually employed a number of cars. I give below the car festival noticed by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian "at Patna on the eighth day of the fourth moon of the month of Āśāḍha, which in the Court Almanac of Pekin is called "the holy birthday of Buddha". Regarding it he says, "every year in celebration of the eighth day of the moon Mao, they prepare four-wheeled cars on which they erect bamboo stages, supported by spears, so that they form a pillar two *chang* high, having the appearance of a tower. They cover it with a carpet of white felt, upon which they place the images of all the celestial divinities, which they decorate with gold and silver and coloured glass. Above they spread an awning of embroidered work; at the four corners are little chapels, having each a Buddha seated, with Bōdhisatvas standing beside him. There may be about twenty cars, all differing from each other in their ornament and importance. On this day all the streets are thronged with the assembled population. Theatrical representations are exhibited, gymnastic sports and concerts of music."¹

1. Laidlay's *Fa Hian* p. 235, quoted by Dr. Rājēndralāla Mitra in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II. p. 135.



I have already stated that somewhere about Māvelikkarai or Ambalappulāi, there existed on the seacoast the celebrated village of Śrīmūlavāsam, containing a very important Bauddha temple. There must have been held in this and, following its example, in all other Bauddha temples on the West Coast, car festivals similar to that witnessed by Fa Hian and the *Kaṭṭukkāḷchchai* of Chettikkūḷaṅgarai is but a reminiscence of this ancient and time honoured institution which has now lost its significance. I was pained to hear that attempts were made by a local officer to discourage this exhibition for reasons best known to himself. It is not a costly pastime, nor a pleasure which the villagers grudge paying for; on the other hand they have such strong faith that the dedication annually of a *kudirai* or *tēr* at a cost of about Rs. 25 each obtains for them the grace of the goddess which wards off dire diseases such as small-pox etc. It would be a thousand pities if, by the misdirected enthusiasm for reform of the said officer, the villagers gave up entirely the *kaṭṭukkāḷchchai*.

The history of Jainism on the West Coast is still more interesting, because it has lived there till very recently, especially in Southern Travancore. In my article on three inscriptions of Vikramāditya Varaguna (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I. pp. 193-94), I have given a brief description of the temple of the so-called Bhagavati on the Tiruchchānattumalai near Chitarāl. On the side of the overhanging rock which forms the natural cave, are found sculptured a number of figures of the Tīrthaṅkaras, votive images carved by visitors to this holy shrine from distant places. There are the figures of Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra and other Tīrthaṅkaras and of Padmāvatīdēvī. Therein I have stated my belief that even before A. D. 1250 (Ko. 425) the temple on the Tiruchchānattumalai had become a Hindu temple. I now think that it is a mistake, into which I was led by the name of a donor Nārāyaṇa..... Tamiḷappallavaraiyaṇ. This man who bears a Hindu name might as well have made gifts to a Jaina Bhagavati, that is, to the Padmāvatīdēvī's temple, as did, several centuries before him, the king Vikramāditya Varaguna, a Hindu sovereign.¹ "The place seems to have been sufficiently famous in earlier times so as to attract Jains from such distant places as Tirunaṅṅonḍai, in the Tirukkōyilūr Talukā of the South Arcot District, Kuḍavāśal, in the Tanjore District &c."² The votive figures have all engraved below their seats short inscriptions in archaic Vaṭṭeḷuttu script, mentioning the names &c., of the persons who got them carved there. A few of them are given below as samples:—

1. This inscription was edited in Vol. I. *Trav. Arch. Series*, pp. 193-195. A facsimile of the record which did not accompany the article on it then, is reproduced now; a more complete reading of the same is given below:—

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [II*] கோலிக்ரமாத்வரகு-
2. ணர்க்குச்செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு [இ]-
3. ருபத்தெட்டு [II*] இவ்வாண்டு பேரயக்கு-
4. டி அரட்டேமிபடார மணக்கிகள் குண-
5. ந்தாங்கிக் குரத்திகள் இருச்சார[ண*]த்துப்ப-
6. டாரியார்க்கு [அரவி]க்கட்டப்பொர்(ந்)க்கட்டி-
7. னகழஞ்சு பத்து[II*] பொற்பட்டமும் பொற்-
8. ப்ருவமா[வை]ங்கழஞ்சு [II°] கழஞ்சின்
9. பொலிகொண்டு அரவிக்[க]ட்ட இட்டது [II*]

2. *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I. P. 194.

- I. ஸ்ரீ அச்சணந்தி
செய்வித்த
திருமேனி

(This is) the figure got sculptured by Achchanandi.

- II. ஸ்ரீமேனி செய்வித்தா[ர்]
திருநெடும்பறைக்-
காட்டாம்பள்ளி[உ]
த்தணந்தி அடிகள்.

Utthanandi Adigal of the Kāṭṭāmballi (temple) at Tirunēḍumburai got sculptured (this) image.

- III. ஸ்ரீ திருச்சாரணத்துப் பட்டி-
னிபடாரர் ச[ட்]டன் வர[கு]-
[ண]ந் செய்வித்த ஸ்ரீமேனி ||—

Prosperity! (This is) the image got sculptured by Varagunaṇ, the disciple of Paṭṭiṇibhaṭṭārar of Tiruchchāraṇam.

- IV. ஸ்ரீமேனி திருநறுங்கொ-
ண்டை மேலைப்பள்ளி
[ஊ]ரநந்தி அடிகள்
செய்வித்தவ[வை]

(These are) the images got sculptured by Vīranandi Adigal of the Mēlaippalli (temple) at Tirunaruṅṇḍai.

I have already given a description of the site of this once famous Jaina temple in my article on the *Chitarāl Inscription of Vikramāditya Varaguna* on pp. 193-194 of Vol. I, *Travancore Archaeological Series*. I reproduce now the enlarged photographs of some of the images of the Tīrthaṅkaras and of Padmāvatīdēvī on Plate V. The attention of the reader is drawn to the striking adherence of the features of the images with the description given in the *Mānasāra*. The cropped head, hanging ear lobes, the complete nudity of the figures, the contemplative mood, the *yogic padmāsana* posture, the *padmāsana* seat, whose lotus petals are faintly visible in the photograph. On either side is a Yaksha or Vidyādhara carrying a *chāmara* each. Above the head of the left Yaksha is a *dēva*, sculptured as flying in the air, offering worship to the Tīrthaṅkara below.

Fig. 1, Pl. V shows a group of Jaina figures carved on the overhanging rock of the Bhagavatī temple on the Tiruchchāpattumalai. The second figure from the left, a seated Tīrthaṅkara has a triple umbrella, one of the characteristic features of Jaina iconography; this feature is noticeable in all other images also of this place. It is seated in the *yogic padmāsana* posture on a *padmāsana* seat, whose lotus petals are faintly visible in the photograph. On either side is a Yaksha or Vidyādhara carrying a *chāmara* each. Above the head of the left Yaksha is a *dēva*, sculptured as flying in the air, offering worship to the Tīrthaṅkara below.

Next to this figure and on its left stands one of Pārśvanātha Tīrthaṅkara. This tall, graceful figure is seen standing, as required by the *Mānasāra*, perfectly straight and completely free from clothing, stark naked. Its eyes indicate a deep contemplative trance. The head is covered by a three-headed cobra, an animal

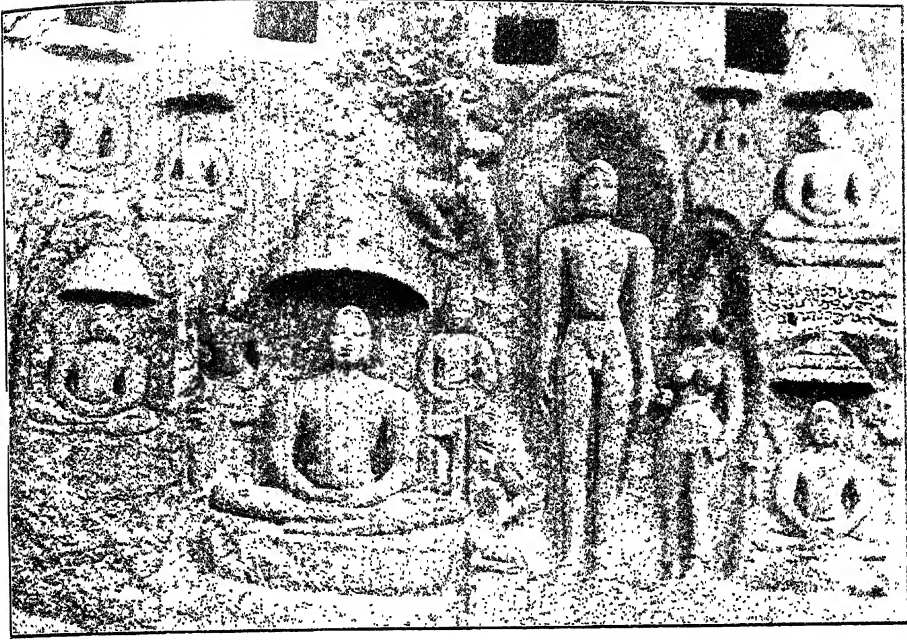


Fig. 1.

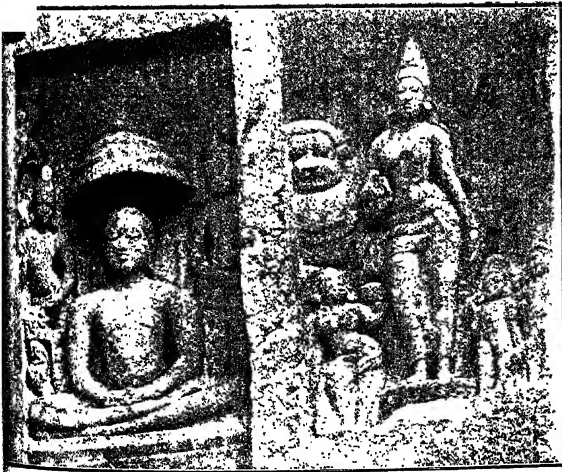


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

The image of Mahavira Tirthankara kept in puja in one of three central shrines in the temple on the Tiruchchanattumalai.

which is the peculiar totem of this Tīrthaṅkara. Near it, on its left, stands Padmāvatīdēvi, who wears a *makūṭa* on her head and two big *kuṇḍalas* in the earlobes. Her right hand is lifted up as if it is so kept to hold a flower in it and the left one rests on the hip. She is clothed from the waist. (Compare fig. 1. Pl. XLI, Burgess' *Elura Cave Temples*.)

The seated figure on the left of the above described image has a lampstand one on the right and the other on the left; also two *chāmaras* similarly disposed of immediately above the lampstands. These two objects belong to the *aṣṭa-māṅgalas* or the eight auspicious articles.¹ The figure above this is stated in the inscription engraved below it to have been carved at the instance of a Varaguṇa, who was a disciple of Paṭṭini-bhaṭṭārā (the fasting saint) of the Tiruchchāraṇattu hill. We cannot be sure if the Varaguṇa mentioned here is a royal personage or a commoner and if the former, if he is the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa or the Āy chief Vikramāditya-Varaguṇa. The Vaṭṭeḷuttu script employed would suit the age of either of these kings.

The image on the right, fig. 2, on the same plate is seated upon a *śimhāsana*, the back of which ends on either side of the figure; the ends have each a rearing lion, indicating that it is a *śimhāsana* and no other. On the right and the left are the usual Yakshas bearing *chauris* in their hands. Over their heads are some gods holding their hands in a supplicating posture. The face of the Tīrthaṅkara is peculiarly calm and peaceful.

The figure of Padmāvatīdēvī on the left of this is standing upon a *padmāsana*. Like the Hindu *śakti*, Durgā, she has also a lion, her vehicle, on her right, at the top corner. (Compare the drawing of the figure of this *dēvī*, fig. 2. Pl. XL in Burgess' *Elura Cave Temples*). On the right stands a female dwarfish figure, an attendant carrying something in a bowl which she keeps in her left hand. On the left of the *Dēvī* stand two short male figures in a reverent attitude; it is not easy to guess whom these figures represent. The *Dēvī* keeps her right arm bent and lifted up and on it she has a parrot. It might be remarked here that the sculpturing of the figure of *Dēvīs* of all the religions of India, Hindu, Jaina or Bauddha is always exactly similar; that is, the figure of a goddess must be generally standing; in this posture, she must have her right arm bent and lifted up up to the breast and carrying in it a flower, a parrot or a mirror. The left arm must be hanging by the side of the body, (which may have a few bends in it *ābhāṅga*), or this hand may rest upon the hip (*katyavalambita hasta*). The head should be adorned with a *karāṇḍa makūṭa* and the other limbs with their appropriate ornaments. Since all *dēvīs* are sculptured exactly in the same manner, it is impossible to assert in any case whether a *Dēvī* figure belongs to the Hindu, the Jaina or the Bauddha religion,—a difficulty which will confront every one who is engaged in arranging Indian Art collections.

The next most important Jaina temple in Travancore is that of Nāgarāja in the town of Nāgarkōyil. It continued to be a Jaina temple till at least Ko. 697, during which and the succeeding years it has received donations from the Travancore king Bhūtalavīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman. The officiating priests of this temple bore

1. The other objects being the umbrella, a conch, the *svastika*, a pitcher filled with water (*pūrṇa-kumbha*), a mirror and the *śrīvatsa*.

the characteristic Jaina names Kamalavāhana Paṇḍita and Guṇavīra Paṇḍita.¹ The lands granted by Udayamārttaṇḍavarman are all uniformly said to be *paḷḷichchandams*—a term applied only to lands belonging to the Jaina and Bauddha temples. Subsequent to the reign of this king the temple seems to have become definitely Hindu in its nature and worship. A shrine of Ananta was erected in it² and worship by Pōtti Brāhmaṇas (Tūluvas) was established. The *Sthānikaship* of this and the Bhagavatī temple at Tiruchchānattumalai was held, I was told, by “a sort of Brāhmaṇa who might eat in the houses of other Brāhmaṇas, but the other Brāhmaṇas should not eat in his.” There were till lately two Jaina houses situated to the south of the temple belonging to the *sthānikas* mentioned above. They might perhaps be the remnants of a large colony of Jainas which might have once existed in Nāgarakōyil. The male members of these houses left the place and went away to where they had their relatives. Their houses have recently been assumed by the Government and new houses erected in their stead which are set apart for the residence of the officiating Pōtti priests of the Nāgarāja temple.

On a careful examination of this Nāga temple, I was able to find out six Jaina images; three of which are seated figures of Mahāvīra Tīrthaṅkara, one a seated

1. The earlier portion of the inscription reads thus:—

வஸ்வதி பூரி [11*] அருளிச்செயல் [1*] கோட்டாருளமு:-
 ம்முடிசோழபுரத்து நித்தல் மாயுசைக்கொண்-
 டு எழுந்தருளி இருந்தருளும் நாகர்கோயிலிற் ப-
 ள்ளி உடைய குணவீர பண்டிதனும் கமலவா-
 ன பண்டிதனும் வசம்.....
 ..
 வீரமாத்மாண்டன் சந்தி உச்சிப்பூசை நடக்கக் கற்பித்
 தவிடைக்கு.....

Hail! Prosperity! This is the royal command. For the performance of the midday service named the Vīramārttaṇḍa-sandi to the (god) Nāgar at Kōttāru, who is receiving daily the great *pujas* and is pleased to be seated in the temple, (the king Bhūtalavira Udayamārttaṇḍavarman gave) in the hands of Guṇavīra Paṇḍita, and Kamalavāhana Paṇḍita the managers of the temple (certain pieces of lands).....

Again,

..... நந்தா வி-
 ளக்கு இரண்டாகவும் நடத்திக்கொண்டுபோ-
 அம்படி கற்பித்து தொண்ணூற்று ஆறுமாண் -
 டு கார்முதலுக்குப் பள்ளிச்சந்தமாக கிட்டுத்-
 குடுத்த நிலமாவது.....

“.....Having ordered also that two perpetual lamps be burnt, the following land was given as *paḷḷichchandam* from the rainy season (*kār*) of the year '96 (= M. E. 696 = A. D. 1521).....”

Again,

நாகர்கோயிலில் பள்ளி உடைய
 நாராயணன் நயினான குணவீரபண்டிதனும்
 சீவகருடையான் கமலவாகன பண்டிதனும்....

“The managers of the temple of Nāgar, Nārāyaṇaṇ Nayingāṇ alias Guṇavīra Paṇḍitaṇ and Jīvakar-uḍaiyāṇ alias Kamalavāhana Paṇḍitaṇ.....”

Here particular attention must be drawn to the word *paḷḷi*, the Tamil word for an *avaidika* place of worship and to the term *paḷḷichchandam*, the land granted to Jaina and Bauddha temples.

2. The inscription on the central shrine of Kṛishṇa reads thus:—

கொல்லம் ளாகவசனூ பங்குனி [மாதம்]
 மூல பூசைபுரிக்ஷத்து (பக்ஷத்து) பஞ்சமியும்

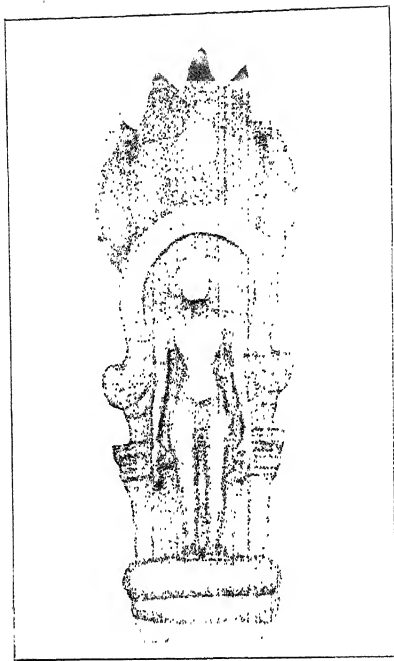


Fig. 1.

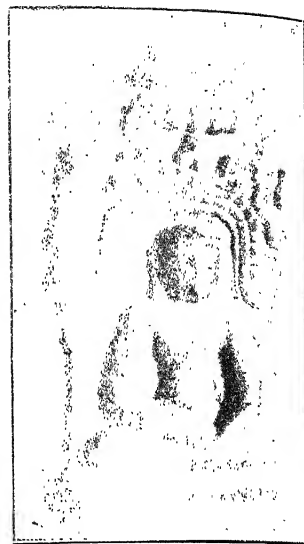


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

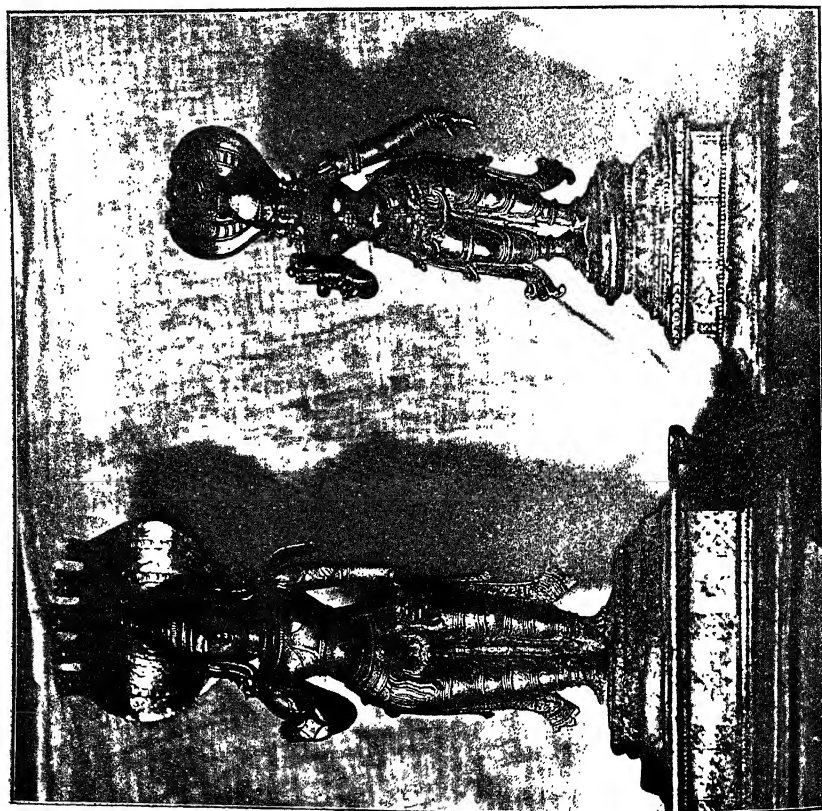


Fig. 1. The brass images in the NagaraJasvami temple at Nagarkoyil.

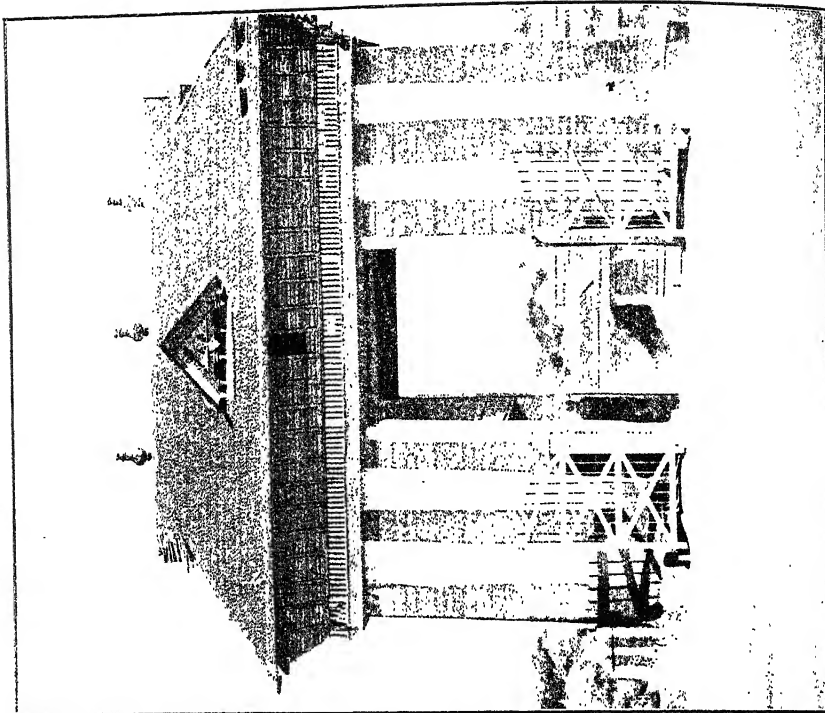


Fig. 2. The gate way of the NagaraJasvami temple at Nagarkoyil.

figure of Pārśvanātha and another of Pārśvanātha Tīrthaṅkara standing and the sixth of Padmāvatīdēvī. One of the Mahāvīra images is carved on a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine and two others on the central shrine itself. The images of Pārśvanātha and Padmāvatīdēvī are sculptured on pillars standing in the same *maṇḍapa* also. Photographs of the two seated images in the *maṇḍapa* and a drawing of the figure of Pārśvanātha are reproduced on Plate VII. The five-hooded cobra sheltering the head of the standing figure is, as is well known to students of Jaina iconography, the characteristic *lāñchechhana* of Pārśvanātha. It must be also noted that the standing and seated figures are perfectly erect as required by the *Mānasāra*. The standing figure is seen keeping its arms hanging down and the feet close together. The head is not surmounted, as in the case of the Bauddha images, with the *ushnīṣa* and the *jvālā*. The *śrīvatsa* mark is generally indicated by an equilateral triangle, with its apex at the top, engraved on the right side of the chest, just above the nipple. But it is not found in any one of the figures whose photographs are reproduced here. The Yakshas carrying *chāmaras* are shown on the *prabhāvali* surrounding the seated figures. The *simha lāñchechhana* (lion totem) peculiar to Mahāvīra Tīrthaṅkara is seen below the *simhāsana* of all seated images.

That the seated figure, fig. 2 Pl. VII., is Pārśvanātha and not Mahāvīra may be inferred from the five-headed hood of the cobra that is shown immediately below the triple umbrella. The other seated figure, fig. 4 on the same plate, is no doubt of Mahāvīra, for, at the bottom of the seat are seen sculptured figures of lions, which are, however, not reproduced in the photograph.

Of the brass images of the Nāgarāja temple, (fig 1, Pl. VIII), the male one is standing with a few gentle bends in its body; its right hand is held in the *abhaya* pose and the left hand rests on the hip (*katyavalambita hasta*). It has on its head a *kiriṭa makuṭa* and over it is a five-headed cobra's hood. The ears are ornamented with *makarakuṇḍalas*; there are the other ornaments, the *hāras*, the *udarabandha*, the *kaṭakas* and *kaṅkanas*. The lower part of the body is draped in clothes which have the conventional parallel folds descending obliquely on the legs. It is standing on a *padma-piṭha* which itself is on a *bhadra-piṭha*. The female figure is a *tribhaṅga* image holding in its right hand a *utpala* flower; the left arm is hanging parallel to the body. This figure has the *chhannavīra* ornament in addition to those worn by

புதனாட்சையும் பெற்ற உ-
ரோகணி நாள் கோட்டாற்று நயி-
னார் நாகர் திருவனந்தாழ்-
வார் பூசைக்கு கருங்குளவனாண்டு-
க்கும்பிசுளத்துத் திருக்குருந்தப் [பெருமாள்]
தன்மமாக நாகரும் எழுந்தருளியித்துப் பூசை-
க்கு நாளொன்றுக்கு அரிசி

"In the Kollam year 764, on the 15th of the month Paṅguni which corresponded with a Wednesday, the fifth *tithi* in the bright fortnight and the Rōhini nakshatra, —on this date Tirukkurundap-perumāl of Kumbikūlam in the Karuṅguḷa-valanāḍu having set up the god Nāgar-Tiruvananṭālvān (that is, the nāga Ananta of Vishnu) at Kōṭṭāṅu made provision for the *pūjās* by giving a daily allowance of a certain quantity of rice.....".

It is to be noted here that the deity Pārśvanātha perhaps becomes at a later period the Nāgar Tiruvananṭālvān, Ādiśēsha of Vishnu.

the male one. It has over its head a three-headed cobra's hood. There is nothing peculiarly Hindu in them; they may as well be Jaina as Hindu deities.

The gateway, fig. 2 on the same plate, locally known as the mahāmēru-māligai is one of the prettiest structures of the Malabar style of architecture and is urgently in need of repairs. It is hoped that the Government would take early steps to put it in thorough repairs and include it in the list of protected buildings of the State.

The third important place where Jainism seems to have flourished is Kallil, a place some 8 miles away from Perumbāvūr in north Travancore. It also contains a natural rock-cave in which are set up the Pārśvanātha and the Mahāvīra Tīrthaṅkaras and Padmāvatīdevī. On the facade of the cave and on the front of the overhanging rock is also a figure of Mahāvīra carved but not completed. People there believe that the heavenly sculptors of these holy images visit the place nightly to perfect this one. The *pūjās* in this temple are being conducted by a Nambūri brāhmaṇa employed by the rich gentleman of Kallil belonging to the Pishāraḍi caste to whom the temple at present belongs. The Baniya merchants from Cochin pay their homage to this temple, well knowing that they are worshipping Jaina gods and not Hindu ones, but strangely enough the *pūjāri* receives gifts of money from these people also.

The image of Mahāvīra Tīrthaṅkara, reproduced as fig. 2 Plate IX, which is carved in half-relief on the rock forming the back wall of the natural cave, is seated upon a *śimhāsana* in the usual *yōgāsana* posture. In the front middle portion of the seat is carved the figure of *śimha* (a lion), the totem peculiar to this Tīrthaṅkara; over the head of this deity is the triple umbrella; and on either side at the back stands in reverential attitude the figure of a *gandharva* holding a *chauri* in its hand. Near Mahāvīra, on the right, is the stone figure of Padmāvatīdevī which is now covered with a metallic mask. This goddess is at present the principal deity of the temple.

On the left of Mahāvīra Tīrthaṅkara is situated the figure of Pārśvanātha Tīrthaṅkara. It is kept with its back turned towards the south wall: only a side-view of it is available to the visitor and therefore it is not easy to find out whether it is exactly Pārśvanātha or any other Tīrthaṅkara. The *pūjāri* was unable to furnish me with the exact appearance of the totem; I believe, however, that it is perhaps not Pārśvanātha, but only a replica of Mahāvīra; for, it has over its head the triple umbrella and not a hood of the cobra, which distinguishes Pārśvanātha from the other Tīrthaṅkaras. (See fig. 3. Pl. IX).

The figure of the Tīrthaṅkara, carved on the overhanging rock forming the facade of the shrine, is reproduced as figure 1, Plate IX.

For purposes of comparison I have added two more photographs taken at the Jaina Tirumalai near Pōlūr in the South Arcot district, on Pls. X & XI. Of these, the one on plate X is of a Tīrthaṅkara (who he is cannot be ascertained as the totem characteristic of him is not visible anywhere in the photograph). The figures and emblems on Pl. XI, are metallic images and *yantras* and a few stone images kept in *pūjā* in the temple.



Fig.1.

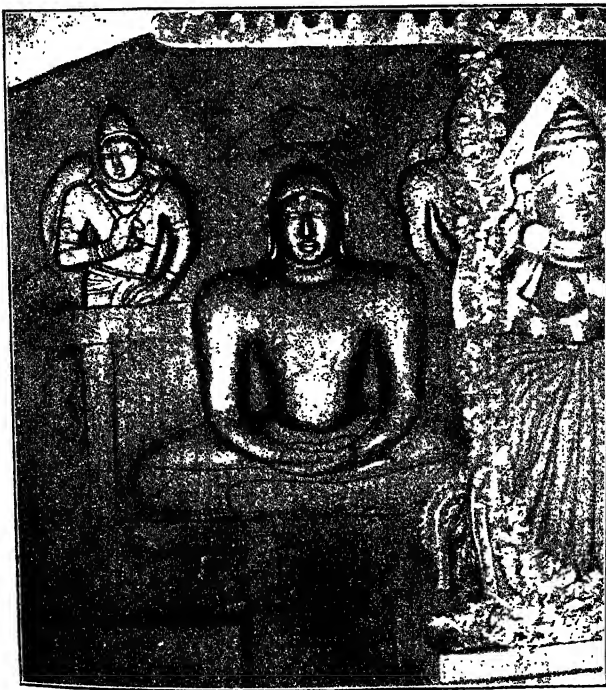
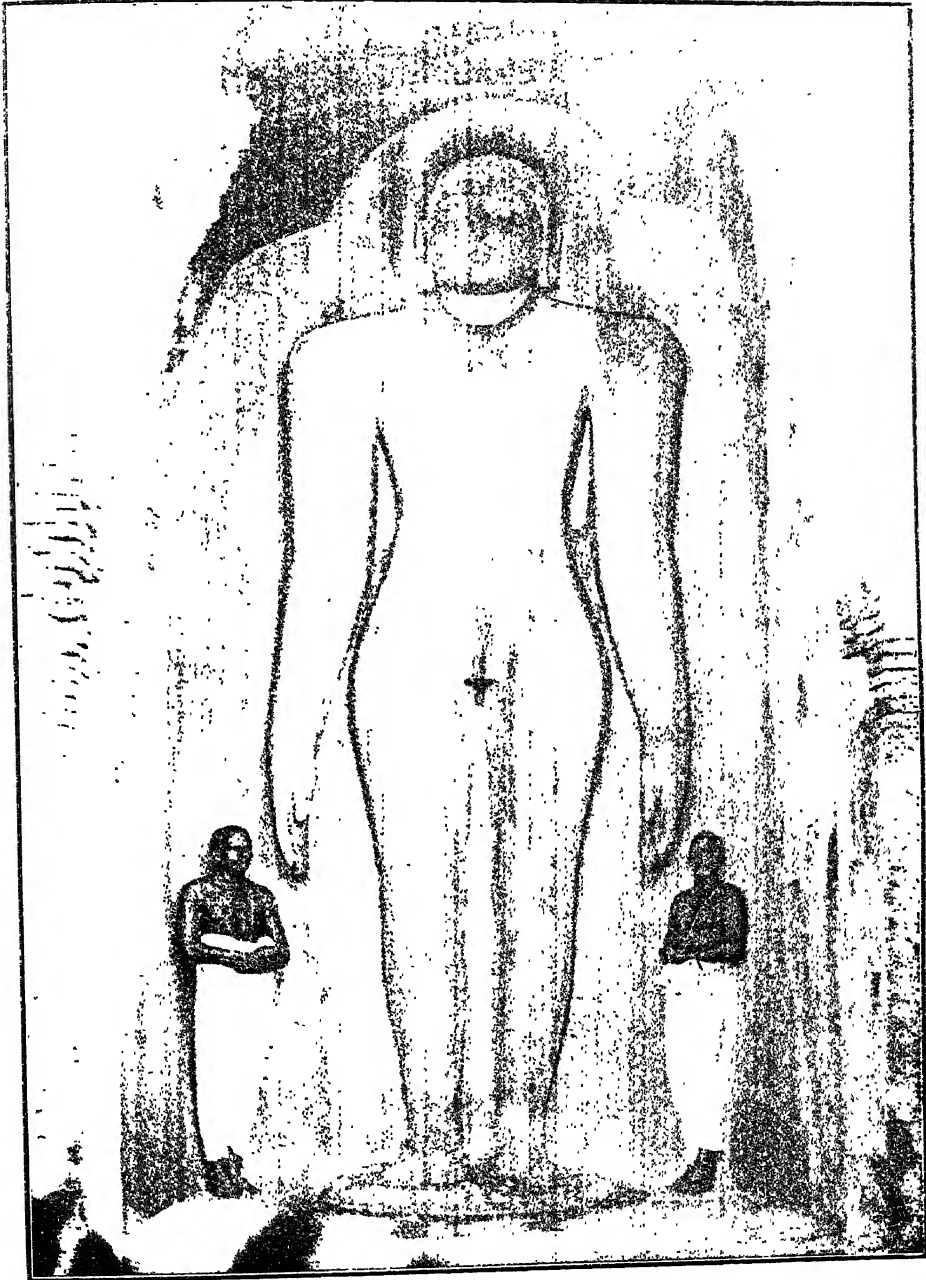
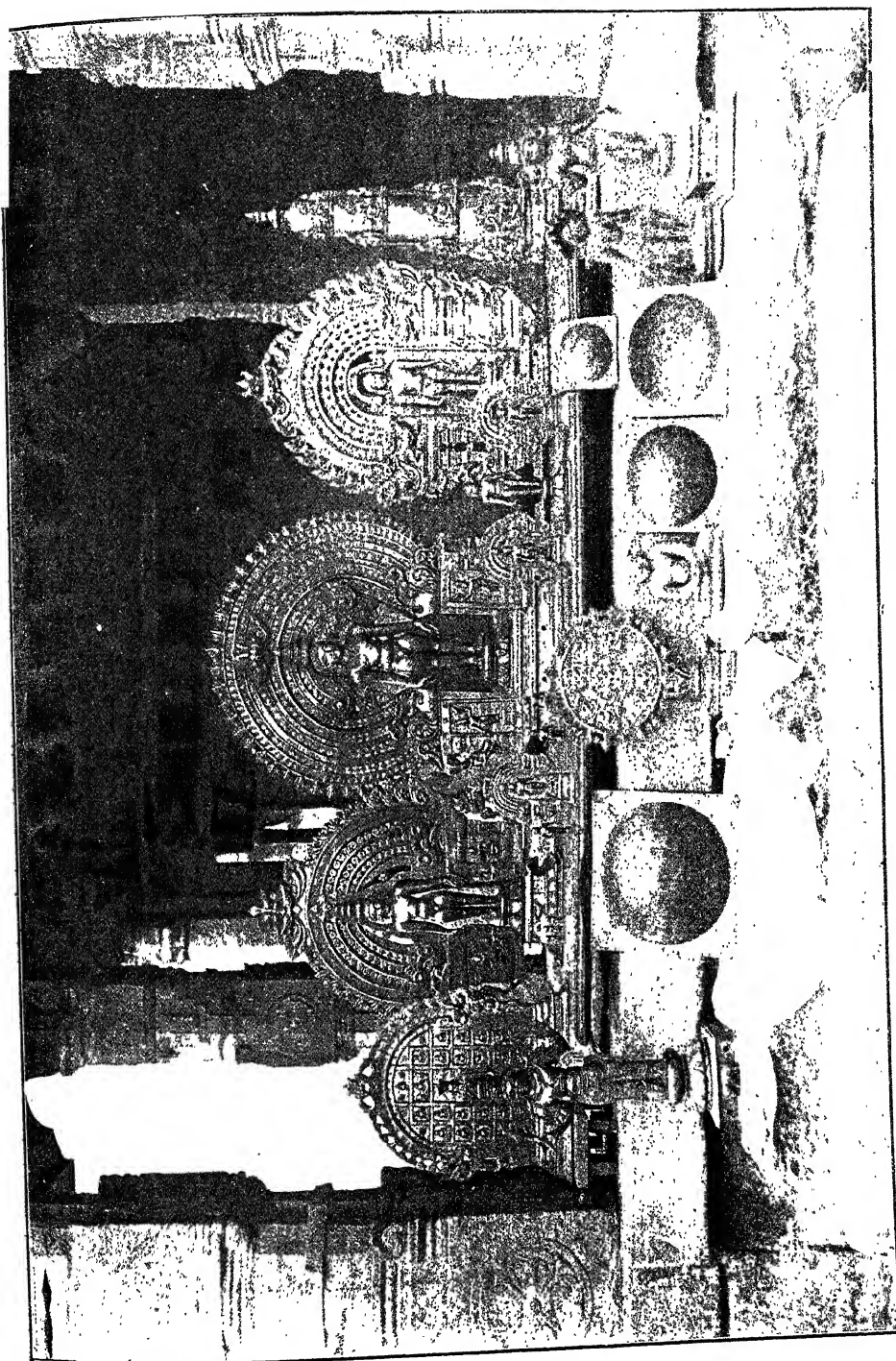


Fig. 2.

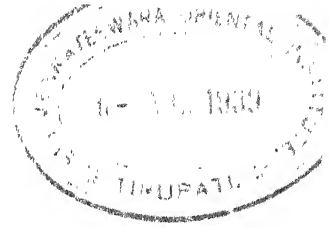




Megalithic image of a Tirthankara in the Jaina Temple at
Tirunjalai near Polur, South Arcot District.



A group of metallic Jain Images and Yantras kept in *pooja* in the Jain temple
at Tirumalai near Polur, South Arcot District,



TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES

Volume II, Part III.

HUZUR PLATES OF TIRUVALLA (WITH 6 ILLUSTRATIONS).

AND

**TITLE PAGE, TABLE OF CONTENTS, LIST OF PLATES,
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA AND INDEX.**

THE HUZUR TREASURY PLATES BELONGING TO THE VISHNU TEMPLE AT TIRUVALLA.

The inscription which is edited below is engraved upon a set of copper-plates, which must originally have consisted of no less than forty-four plates, each measuring eighteen inches in length and three and three fourth inches in breadth. It is quite probable that the set was not bound by a ring, for, the ring-holes of the plates are so small that a sufficiently strong ring, necessary for binding this very heavy set of copper-plates, could not be passed through them. Again, the holes do not show signs of crushing and deformation generally met with in copper-plate grants which are bound together by means of a ring. The plates were left unbound, perhaps because the temple authorities intended to add to the set more plates from time to time. In this set, the plates numbered 1, 4, 6, 7, 16, 32, 34 and 41, and very likely, some more at the end are missing. The preservation of the inscription is excellent and the engraving has been executed by a master hand. There are practically no errors due to omissions or other causes. In point of the correctness of the number of plates, their total weight, the beauty of the engraving and in the preservation of the writing, this set of copper-plates is certainly a very remarkable one.

From this inscription we learn that this set of copper-plates belonged to the Vishnu temple at Tiruvallavāḷ, one of the thirteen *divya-dēśams*¹ in the Malaināḍu, praised by the Śrīvaiṣṇava saints, Nammālvār and Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār. It was preserved in the Huzur Treasury for a long time and my attention was drawn to it by Mr. T. Lakshmaṇa Pillai, B. A., the then Treasury Officer. It has since been removed to the Napier Museum, where it is kept in safe custody in the Archaeological section. Tiruvallavāḷ or Tiruvallah, as it is called at the present day, is the head-quarters of the *Taluk* of the same name and is one of the most densely populated towns in the Travancore State. It is also an influential Christian centre. But the chief feature of the town is the large pagoda dedicated to Vishnu, locally known by the name Tiruvallāy-appaṇ (more correctly, Tiruvallavāḷ-appaṇ), to which, as we have already mentioned, the set of copper-plates under consideration once belonged.

Nothing is known about the history of these plates, how and when they came into the treasury and what became of the few plates that are now missing. Perhaps, the required information could be obtained if an earnest search is made in the records of the Huzur Office; if any information regarding these are available in the Huzur Office, we may obtain a clue as to the proper place to look for, or to trace the person who might be in possession of, the lost plates.

The alphabet of the record is Vaṭṭeḷuttu of the so-called vertical variety and is of the same type as that found in the grants of Bhāskara Ravivarman and the

1. The other twelve places are:—Tiruvanpariśāram, Tiruvāṭṭāru, Tiruvānandapuram, Tiruchengunūr, Tiruppuliyūr, Tiruvānvaṇḍūr, Tirukkaḍittānam, Tiruvāraṇvīlai, Tirukkāṭkarai, Tirumūḷikkaḷam, Tirunāvāy and Tiruvittuvakkōḍu.—K. V. S.

inscriptions at Kaṇḍiyūr. The most remarkable feature of this inscription is that it supplies almost all the letters of the Tamil alphabet, even such rare ones as *ṇi*, *ṇu* and *ṇai*. No distinction is noticeable between the secondary long *ī*, *ē* and *ō* and the secondary short *i*, *e* and *o*, except in the case of *po* and *pō*. Three different forms of the letter *ṇai* occur. The table appended herewith contains all the letters and numerical symbols. Though a large number of such tables of Vatteluttu alphabet have been already published by me, my justification for presenting this one again is that it is more complete than any hitherto drawn up. There are also a few Grantha letters scattered here and there in this record, with reference to whose state of evolution the age of the Vatteluttu of the present document might be fixed. The plates are numbered consecutively and the numerical symbols are engraved on the right margin of the first side of each plate. A number of Grantha letters are seen engraved on the left margin, which also mark the order of the pages. They consist of five groups which are as follows:—

- I. —, *nna*, *nya*, —, *jhra*, —, —, *pra* and *dre*.
- II. *ma*, *mna*, *mna*, *mnya*, *mshka*, *mjhra*, —, *mgra*, *mpa* and *mdre*.
- III. *tha*, *thna*, *thna*, *thnya*, *thshka*, *thjhra*, *thā*, *thgra*, *thpra*, and *thdre*.
- IV. *la*, *lna*, —, *lnya*, —, *ljhra*, *lha*, *lgra*, *lpra* and *ldre*.
- V. *pta*, —, *ptna*, *ptnya*, —, —, —, —, —, —.

We know from a large number of cadjan manuscripts that are found in the Malabar country including Travancore and Cochin, that a system of pagination existed, in which a single letter or a group of letters, representing the number of page, was employed from time immemorial, but it has practically disappeared at the present time. Even now old people of Malabar know what each symbol stand for. In this system the order of the symbols are:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
na,	nna,	nya,	shka,	jhra,	hā,	gra,	pra,	dre.
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
ma,	mna,	mna,	mnya,	mshka,	mjhra,	mā,	mgra,	mpa,
19	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90
mdre,	tha,	la,	pta,	ba,	tra,	tri,	chha,	ṇa,

Dr. Buhler says "In Brāhmī inscriptions and coin-legends we find a peculiar system of numeral notation. Up to A. D. 594-95 it is used exclusively, and later together with decimal system. It appears also exclusively in the Bower manuscript and the other manuscripts from Kashgar, as well as together with the decimal system—chiefly in the pagination—in the old manuscripts of the Jains in Western India and the Bauddhas of Nēpāl as late as the 16th century. And the Malayālam manuscripts have preserved it to the present day."

Regarding this system Bendall says:—"This being so, it is well worth pointing out that in Malabar, a part of India already identified with curious survivals of ancient usage, the syllabic system has been used within the present century and possibly is still known."

TABLE OF NUMERICAL SYMBOLS OF DIFFERENT AGES.

[To Face p. 133].

Numeral	Aśoka.	Nāśik Cave.	Jagga- yāghāṭa.	Vāḷāḥi.	Bower Ms.	Tiruvalla vāḷ Plates	Numeral.	Aśoka.	Nāśik Cave.	Jagga- yāghāṭa.	Vāḷāḥi.	Bower Ms.	Tiruvalla vāḷ Plates	Remarks.	Tiruvalla- vāḷ Plates.	
															1.1	2.2
1		—	—	—	—	—	20		0	0	0	0	0	*		
2		=	—	=	—	—	30		2		2	2	2	†		
3		≡	—	≡	—	—	40		4		4	4	4	‡		
4	+	卄	卄		卄	卄	50		5		5	5	5	§		
5		卅	卅	卅	卅	卅	60		6		6	6	6			
6	66			66	66	66	70		7		7	7	7			
7		7		7	7	7	80		8		8	8	8			
8		8	8		8	8	90		9		9	9	9			
9		9			9	9	100		10		10	10	10			
10		10	10	10	10	10	1000		1000		1000	1000	1000			

Line block.

By THE CALCUTTA PHOTOGRAPHIC CO.

In the *Grammar of the Malayālam Language*, by H. Gundert (2nd Ed. 1868), written for native students in Malayālam, with section headings only in English, the following list is given (148 a, pp. 41-42):—

- | | | | | | |
|---------|---------|-------------|----------|----------|--------|
| 1. na, | 2. nna, | 3. nya, | 4. shka, | 5. jhra, | 6. hā. |
| 7. gra, | 8. pra, | and 9. dre. | | | |

“The forms 1 to 3 (*na*, *nna*, *nya*) are peculiar to this system. They are not, however, borrowed from the ordinary decimal figures.

“4 is not *nika*, but *shkra*. Compare Bhagavānlal Indrāji in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, p. 44, col. 9, and p. 46 (*shka*). There is perhaps an *r* sign in Buhler’s Tafel IX, col. 9, No. 4.

“For 5 = *jhra*, a curious combination, it is not easy to find a parallel, owing to the rarity of *jha* even as a simple letter. The resemblance between some of the Kshatrapa forms of 5 and the contemporary forms of *jha* (Buhler’s Tafel II, i. 14) is enough to account for the confusion or misreading.

“For 6 = *hā* (Gundert) our manuscript has simply *ha*. Both are doubtless derived from *pha*, the characters of these letters being very similar in Malayālam (𑌕 *pha*, 𑌕 *ha*).

“7 = *gra* agrees with the results given by Buhler p. 75.

“8 = *pra*. Here is doubtless a misreading for *hra*. In many of the early alphabets the resemblance between *pā* and *ha* is considerable.

“9 I take as an old form *O*, though at present it looks like *dre*. I am not sure that some of the Nepalese forms of 9 given in my Cambridge Catalogue (Table of letter Numerals) do not show an analogous corruption.”

A table of numerical symbols of different ages is added herewith for enabling students of palaeography to trace the evolution of the system of numerals used in the pagination of ancient manuscripts in the Malabar Coast.

The language of the inscription is distinctly Tamil for the following reasons:—

1. It obeys the laws of Tamil Grammar in all its details:—

(a) Declensional endings such as *an*, *ān*, *ar*, *ār*, &c., are added to finite verbs, unlike as in modern Malayālam; e. g. *peṇār* (ll. 29, 343), *vaichchār*, *Kuḍuttān* (ll. 333, 356), *kuḍuttār* (ll. 349, 360), *amaichchān* (ll. 351 and 352).

(b) Foreign words beginning with *r*, when adopted in Tamil, take before them one of the three vowels *a*, *i*, or *u*; and similarly words beginning with *y* take before them *i*, e. g. *Iravi* for Ravi (ll. 51, 331), *Irāyasēkharan* for Rājasēkhara (l. 102), *Iyakkan* for Yakshan (ll. 267, 346), *Urōyanī* for Rōhinī (ll. 268, 319), *Irāman* for Rāman (ll. 533, 538), etc.

(c) Obeys the rules of *sandhi*:—e. g. *kilakkin + tiruvaḍi* = *kilakkinniruvaḍi* (l. 8); *talai + oḍi* = *talaiyoḍi* (l. 3);

śāttirar + amirduṣeyya = śāttiraramirduṣeyya; puṇam + um = pu-
ṇamum (which in modern Malayālam would become puṇavum) (l. 45);
puṇattāl + śellum = puṇattārchellum (l. 62); maṇṇiṇ + tōḍu = maṇ-
ṇiṇṇōḍu (l. 65);

Viḷakku + iraṇḍu = viḷakkiraṇḍu (l. 69)

kaṇṇaṇ + nāḍu = kaṇṇaṇāḍu (l. 107)

uḷ + paḍa = utpaḍa (l. 119)

śiṇṇumai + oḍi = śiṇṇoḍi (l. 131).

Vēṇāḍu + aḍigaḷ = Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷ (ll. 200-201)

mūṇṇu + kaḷaṇju = mukkaḷaṇju (l. 215)

etc.

etc.

etc.

2. And its vocabulary is wholly Tamil. But there are many instances in which the rules of Grammar are set at nought by this inscription: *e.g.* piḷaikkil + śāntiyadigaḷ = piḷaikkilchāndiyadigaḷ (l. 19), koṭṭigaḷ + ku = koṭṭigaḷkku, instead of koṭṭigaṭku (l. 33).
uḷ + pagarchchai = uḷpagarchchai, instead of utpa° (l. 73).

Such disobedience to the rules of grammar is a common feature of all inscriptions and need not deter us from identifying the language with Tamil.

No doubt there are some forms which are peculiar to the modern dialect, the Malayālam, employed in this inscription: *e.g.* (l. 19) *ari* for *ariśi*, *ariyi*, *ari* (l. 20), *tallai* for mother (l. 30), *śelaviṇṇolla* for *śelavukkuḷla* or *śelaviṇṇulla* (l. 34), *śelaviṇṇu* for *śelavukku* (l. 32), *paḍiṇṇāyiru* (l. 11), *tudaṇṇi* for *tudaṇṇi* (l. 17), *Kaḍamman* for *Kaḍamman* (l. 61), *pūmiyāvo* for *pūmiyāvadu* (l. 63) *naiṇnai* for *naṅgai* (l. 123), *tattai* for parrot (l. 630), etc. These are only dialectic differences and some of them, such as *tallai* and *tattai* are mentioned in Tamil grammars as peculiar to Malai-nāḍu.

The early Tamil grammars, such as the *Tolkāppiyam*, in defining the boundaries of the Tamil-speaking country mention the Tirupati hills as its northern boundary, Kumari as the southern, and the two seas as the eastern and western ones. Hence, Malai-nāḍu is certainly included in the country thus defined. The customs, manners, habits, and the institutions of this land are the same as those of the ancient Tamil country. In course of time, due to entire isolation, Malai-nāḍu, by retaining several ancient words and forms and by mutation of of certain sounds and by entire negligence of idiom (*marabu*) and latterly of the dropping of certain endings, has developed a dialect of its own. The early literature of even this later dialect is full of Tamil idioms, forms &c. No better example of this class of literature could be given than the *Rāmācharitam* and the *Unṇunilī-sandēśam*. It is only in very late productions we see the Sanskrit element swamping the native language. It was at this stage, the Malayālam language severed its allegiance to the rules of the Tamil grammars, and went on its career, rudderless, till Dr. Gundert gave it a new-made grammar. Since then and even now the Malayālis assert they have no standard grammar.

Below is given a list of archaic words and phrases, the meaning of some of which alone is found in Tamil and the Malayalam lexicons:—

Word or Phrase.	
<p>புரூய் ஓடி- கரி உபாயத்தூக்கு நீராட்டுப்பள்ளி ஓரல்குக்கச்சையிட்டு { அகத்தருதாகில் மண்டபத்தருதாகில் தொழிலுக்குத் து அஞ்சொன் று மெல்லாடி கொண்டு முதை திருவிளக்கினுள்ளோ வளால் வாளகமும் பெண்டாளும் உள்பகர்ச்சை வாழ்பகர்ச்சை வாழ்க்கைக்காராண்மை காராண்மைக்கூறு அள்ளல்ப் பயிள்களம் மிளா உரிப்பு or முரிப்பு ஈரை அந்நிலம்கயிற் றுநிலம்போ பகர்ந்து படுவிது குடா அதிகரிக்கின்ற வாழ்கின்ற வரிசை வல்லம் பூவரி இரவு</p>	

This voluminous document is of interest in more ways than one. Firstly, in containing a very large number of archaic terms, some of which are intelligible and others not. Secondly, it contains mention of several institutions, customs &c., which are of great importance to Sociology. Thirdly, mention is made of a large number of persons and places and lastly it contains astronomical details necessary for the calculation of the date or dates in which the entire document or portions of it were drawn up respectively.

Let us now examine the inscription, section by section, giving an abstract of contents and a comment on noteworthy facts found in each section.

Section 1: (ll. 1 to 36).

Certain lands were allotted, with their incomes fixed, for offerings to be made at the *pandīraḍi pūjā*, for a lamp, for sandal and incense and for flower-garlands, all to be dedicated to the deity at the *pandīraḍi* time of the day. This section refers to two principal deities, one of which was set up in the eastern and the other in the western quarter of the temple. It also refers to Vishvaksēna. The rice offered to the eastern deity at the time of the *pandīraḍi* is required to be thrown away in water. Of the remaining rice, one portion might be taken by the temple people and the other reserved for feeding three *chhātras* (students). As soon as the offerings were made to the deity set up in the east, the same should be given to the *chhātras*: the *chhātras* should be supplied with one and a half coconuts, nine *kaḷañju* of tamarind and one *uḷakku* of salt. The *pandīraḍi pūjā* should be begun at five *nāḷigai* after day-dawn and should be finished within three more *nāḷigai*. For bathing the image, twelve pots of water should be supplied. If the above mentioned duties were not attended to in the proper time allotted for each, the chief *sāntiyaḍigaḷ* (i. e. the *pūjāri*) should be made liable to a fine of twelve *nāḷi* of rice, if the remissness were on his part: the fine paid under the circumstances by the *sāntiyaḍigaḷ* should be appropriated by the *paḷārar-tiruvaḍi* (the *sannyāsi* who generally has some rights and duties in the temple); if, however, the mistake is due to the *kīḷ-sānti* (the assistant *pūjāri*), the same amount of fine should be paid by them also. The fines collected from the other temple servants should be taken by the *sāntiyaḍigaḷ*. Five drummers should play upon their musical instruments at the time of bathing the image. Something more is said of these which is unintelligible. If any one of these absents himself, he should pay a fine of a quarter *kāṇam* of gold. Fines collected from the drummers shall go to the credit of the *kīḷ-sānti*. If this *pandīraḍi pūjā* suffered non-performance for a second day also, the various subordinates of the temple should be obliged to pay double the fines mentioned above. It is the duty of the *samañjitaṇ* to see that the expenses met, are according to the prescribed scale. In his absence, the *sāntiyaḍigaḷ* should do it. Something is recorded about the rice offering. The peculiar language in which it is expressed is not quite intelligible. The *ūrāḷar* were forbidden from finding fault with this item of expenditure and thereby attempting to stop it. He who does so should be considered as having killed his own father and married his own mother. He who helps him also should be classed with him. If any *ūrāḷaṇ* did, however, do so in violation of the rules, the people of the town should meet and take away his lands and house and credit them to the account of the god Tiruvallavāḷappaṇ for the expenses of the *pandīraḍi pūjā*. The following was the scale of pay sanctioned for the servants of the temple:—

(a) to the *sāntiyaḍigaḷ*, 200 *nāḷi* (of paddy) as measured by the *iḍangāḷi*;

(b) to the *kīḷ-sānti*, also 200 *nāḷi*;

(c) to the supplier of the flower-garlands, 18½ *paraḷi*;

and (d) to the drummers, 100 *paraḷi* measured by the 10 *nāḷi* measure.

If those people who had taken out the perpetual service lease of the lands (*kārāṇmai*) failed to provide for the expenses in due time, they should be made liable to pay a fine of double the amount due from them if remissness were to be of one to three days, duration. If, however, it continued for ten days, they would

be subjected to some heavier punishment (here the plate ends and the two subsequent plates are lost) in addition to the doubling of the amount. So much is contained in this section of the inscription. Let us now proceed to comment upon some of the noteworthy features of interest.

(i) *Pandīraḍi*. This word literally means *twelve feet*. But this is the name given in the Malabar Coast to the *pūjā* which is conducted at that time of the day when the sun stands at such an attitude in the sky as to throw the shadow of a man to a length of twelve feet as measured by his own foot. The time will then be 5½ *nāḷigai* after sunrise or in other words very near quarter past eight in the morning.

That this is the time of the day for the performance of the *pandīraḍi-pūjā*, is distinctly mentioned a little further on in this section. We have seen it stated that this *pūjā* should begin at 5 *nāḷigai* after mean sunrise and should be finished before three more *nāḷigai* expired; in other words, the *pūjā* should not take for its performance less than a *muhūrttu* and more than three *nāḷigai*.

(ii) The ordinary *pūjās*, such as at the *pandīraḍi* consisted of *abhishēka* (or bathing of the image), burning a light, application of sandal-paste on the body of this image, decorating it with flower-garlands, offering incense, waving of lighted camphor and offering of food. This is the procedure laid down in the Āgamas for *nityōtsava* or the daily *pūjā*.¹

(iii) From the mention of the fact that the food offered to the deity in the eastern shrine of the temple should be thrown into the water, it becomes patent that the deity is Śiva. It is a well-known fact that food offerings made to Śiva should not be partaken by any one. At the time the document under consideration was drawn up, there might have existed a shrine for Śiva in the eastern part of the temple. It might be observed here that in all important temples either of Śiva or of Viṣṇu, there is generally attached to the chief shrine of Śiva or of Viṣṇu that of Viṣṇu or Śiva respectively and it is usually situated in the same temple. The position for the shrine of Śiva is always the east and that of Viṣṇu is the west. In inscriptions, reference is made to the Viṣṇu shrine as the *mēlai-śrīkōyil*, the western shrine. In this section of the inscription, we see arrangements made for feeding three *chhātras*. The word *chhātra* means a student and occurs largely in inscriptions. The way in which they are required to be treated shows

1 शयनाधिवासनं कृत्वा द्वारादियजनं चरेत् ।

कुम्भमण्डलकं पूज्य बिम्बे स्नपनमाचरेत् ॥

* * * * *

पञ्चविंशद्वैर्वापि यद्वा सप्तदशैर्घटैः ॥

* * * * *

नीराजनं ततः कुर्यान्मण्डपासनमानयेत् ।

अलङ्कृत्य यथान्यायं नैवेद्यान्तं समर्चयेत् ॥

the high regard paid by the donees to students. Since these students would get only cooked rice, offered to the deity, arrangements are made for supplying them with condiments, for which half a cocoanut, three *kaḷaṇṇu* weight of tamarind and a third of a *uḷakku* of salt is provided for each student. No mention is made of vegetables or of pulses of any kind; how they were managing with only the tamarind, salt and cocoanut given them, or, if they went without vegetables, pulses, etc., is hard to guess.

(iv) In this connection it may be noted that some of the temples served as schools and colleges and that students were given boarding and lodging in them.

In the *Karaṇṇāgama* it is stated that the school for teaching the alphabets and elementary knowledge is to be situated on the north and northwest corners of the temple; the schools teaching the various philosophies and those for learning the *Vēdas* were also situated in the temples. For example there was a boarding house for 95 students studying the Taittirīya, Talavakāra and Pavīḷiya *chārāṇas* of the *Vēdas*, started and maintained in the Vishnu temple at Pārthivaśēkharapuram by the Āy chief, Karunāṇḍakkāṇ (*Tr. A. S. Vol. I*). Again, there was a similar institution at Kanyākumari, known by the name Śrīvallabhapperuñjālai or the great school set up by Śrīvallabha, perhaps the Pāṇḍya (or the Āy) king of that name who lived about the ninth century A. D. *Vyākaraṇa* and *Sōmasidhānta* were taught, it is said, in the temple at Tiruvorriyūr. The most remarkable epigraphical evidence on the subject is found in an inscription discovered at Tirumukkūdal. "In this Jananātha-maṇḍapa were located a school for the study of the *Vēdas*, Śāstras, Grammar, Rūpavatāra etc., a hostel for students and a hospital (ஆதலசாலை). The students (சாத்திரர்) were provided with food, bathing-oil on Saturdays and with oil for lamps." Bhārata and other Purāṇas were recited in the temples for the edification of the people and often the place of the Paurāṇika was held by eminent men. The Paurāṇika-sthāna in the great temple at Śrīraṅgam was held by the illustrious Parāśara-Bhaṭṭa, the successor of Rāmānuja. Even at the present time, Sanskrit schools teaching several subjects are held in temples as for instance, in the Chennakēśavasvāmin temple at Bēlūr; and in many an important temple at the present time there is at least a *Vēdic* school. It is an *āgamic* rule that at the time of the Dīpārādhana or the waving in front of the image the burning camphor, all Śāstras, even such as *Vyākaraṇa*, have to be read before the image and at the present day this custom is restricted to the recitation of small bits from the *Vēdas* and Prabandhas.

(v) Every temple employs one or more Mēl-sāntikkārs and Kīl-sāntikkārs. The former are known as the *archakas* and the latter as *parichārakas* in the East Coast and the duty of the latter is to assist the Mēl-sāntikkār with water for bathing the image, handing over to him the vessel containing the live charcoal on which incense is burnt, the one on which burning camphor is placed and waved before the image &c. The Mēl-sāntikkār is to do the *pūjā* and every other duty pertaining directly to the image and in the central shrine.

(vi) The extract of the *Āgama* quoted in the foot note to p. 7, states that the number of pots of water required for bathing the image should be seventeen at least; whereas, our document rests satisfied with twelve, five less than the least number laid down in that *Āgama*.

(vii) The system of fine called *mutt-iratti*, that is double the amount, was in vogue till very recently in Malabar. According to this system, the person who does not fulfil his duty and causes thereby a certain amount of loss is obliged to make it good by paying a penalty of double the amount.

(viii) Many an important temple had, attached to it, some *sannyāsīs* who were either *maṭhādhipatis* or common *sannyāsīs*. They had sometimes the supervision of the conduct of the temple business, of offering *pushpāñjali* (worship with flowers) and perhaps also they participated in the teaching of the student-boarders of the temple; these *sannyāsīs* are referred to in the West Coast as *Bhaṭāra-tiruvāḍi*, *paḷāra-tiruvāḍi*¹ &c.

(ix) *Nirāṭṭupalli*: this word occurs in other inscriptions of Travancore in the sense of *abhisheka* or bathing of the image of a temple.

(x) *Samañjitan* appears to be the accountant of a village or the *Sabha*. In this sense it occurs in two inscriptions of the Padmanābhasvāmīn temple at Trivandrum thus:—

1. *Tiruvananthapurattu sabhaiyūñjamañjitaṇum Pada! rāma-bhaḷāra-tiruvāḍiyuñ-guḍi*. (No. 40 of 84).

2. *Tiruvananthapurattu-sabhaiyūm tamañjitaṇum Tiruvāṇbāḍi śrīmukha-maṇḍapattil Prajñādhyaksha-paḷārar taṇṇadiyil*. (No. 42 of 1084).

(xi) *Ūrālār* literally means the rulers of the village, i. e., the head-men, the city-fathers. These were rich *Jenmies* (landlords) and as such were perhaps entrusted also with the general management of the temples in the village. They seem to have been claiming often more power than they actually were endowed with; for, we see in many inscriptions that they were forbidden from doing this or that act. All the vigilance of the *sabhā* or the village was of no avail; for in the long run these *ūrālārs* as hereditary trustees of temples, became really the owners of temples and more especially so of their landed property; at the present day they actually pass for the real proprietors of the temples which are under their supervision.

(xii) The word *kārāṇmai* indicated, as it does at present, a perpetual lease by which lands are made over by the trustees or managers of temples to those who are employed for the performance of certain duties therein. The lands so granted yielded very much more income than was required for the performance of the duty; the excess income was meant for the sustenance of the tenant and his family in return for the services he rendered to the temple.

Section 2; (ll. 37-48).

A number of plots of land, with their various incomes specified, are allotted for the feeding of *Brāhmaṇas* (*agram*); out of this twenty-five *Brāhmaṇa*

1 Compare, மித்திராந்தபுரத்து தெக்கின் சுற்றமண்டபத்தில் எபுஹுவஜுஹிமாரர் திருவடி

இருந்ருளியபெடத்து” No. 44 of 1084 of the Colln. of Travancore inscriptions.

“கண்டியூர் [யாத]வேந்திராஹுபுதிப்பழார் திருவடி இருந்ருளியபெடத்தில் ஸிஷ்யின்”

No. 45 of 1084. Ibid.

“திருவல்லத்து தெக்கின் திருச்சுற்றமண்டபத்தில் இருந்ருளிய ஸ்ரீமுகந்தானந்த பழார்திருவடி தன்னதியில் கடிஇருக்க.”

No. 49 of 1084, Ibid.

Śrī-vaishnavas are required to be fed. Mention is made next of a number of plots together with their income, which are dedicated in various parts of the country for the same purpose, namely, feeding of the Brāhmanas. A person named Naya-toṅgappallavaraiyaṇ is said to have taken the lease of the *agraśālā* lands situated in the southern district (*tenṇāṭṭu-agraṭṭiṇṇulla-būmi*). The name of one of the donees of lands for this purpose is Vikrama-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Māṇikkamaṅgalam.

(i) It is worthy of note that an arrangement was made for feeding daily over twenty-five Brāhmaṇa Śrīvaishnavas in the temple at Tiruvallavāl. In this connection it may be noted that a temple served in olden days as a boarding house for travellers; and provision was made, not only by kings but also by private gentlemen and ladies for feeding some specified Brāhmanas before or after the offerings were made to the god. An instance of such a feeding occurs in the *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. III, Part. I. p. 3 and Travancore Archaeological Series Vol. II, p. 47.

(ii) Naya-toṅgappallavaraiyaṇ mentioned in this section appears to be a high placed citizen, most probably a chieftain under the king. It is said that he was entrusted with all the *agraśālā* lands belonging to the Tiruvallavāl temple. We meet with a number of chieftains or officials who bore the title of Pallavaraiyaṇ in an inscription at Kanyākumari (Travancore Archaeological Series Vol. I. p. 165 f).

(iii) The names such as Vikrama-Nārāyaṇaṇ are known as *irttai-ppēr*. *Vīrasōḷiyam*, an old Tamil grammar, says about the significance of such combinations as follows:—

Ṭṇi vēṇṇumaich-chārvāgiya śōṇkaḷum aḷinḍu toḷumāru: Śaṅkaraṇukku maganāyulla Śāttan Śaṅkaraṇ-Śāttan: 'hereafter, instances of words which drop their suffixes in connection with the case-ending, thus: Śāttan, the son of Śaṅkaraṇ is Śaṅkaraṇ-Śāttan'. This explains the exact nature of the *irttai-ppēr*. In the Malai-nāḍu it is adopted by both the *makkuttāyis* (those who follow the patriarchal law of inheritance), like the Nambūdiris, and the *maṇṇumakkuttāyis* (followers of the matriarchal law), like the Nāyars. In the case of the former, the first part of the compound name is that of the father, whereas in that of the latter, it is generally the name of the maternal uncle (*kāraṇavaṇ*).

Section 3; (ll. 48-54).

On the day of the Saṅkrānti, when Jupiter stood in Kaṇṇi and the sun was entering Dhanus, the worthies (*ūrār* and *tiruvallimār*) of the town met in the *yāga-maṇḍapa*, situated in front of the temple of the god Tiruvallavāl-appaṇ; and Iravi-Śrīkaṇṭhan, the governor of Veṇboli-nāḍu, gave to the temple an *aṭṭi-ppēru* of his land named Muṭṭāru, which yielded 3500 *kalam* of paddy *per annum*, and which he paid for and purchased. This land was to be under the management (*kāraṇmai*) of the descendents of Iravi Śrīkaṇṭhan, who were obliged to give ten *nāḷi*.....measured by the *iḍaṅgāḷi*. (After this, plates VI and VII are lost).

(i) *Tiruvaḍimār*. This honorific title is found in connection with the names of rulers of countries, high placed Brāhmanas, holding important offices, such as the headship of *maṭhas*, those that are conducting *pūjā* in temples &c.

(ii) One of the common phrases found in the inscriptions of Malai-nāḍu is *avirōdhamāy-kkūḍi*, 'having met with unanimous good feeling or without any ill-feeling among them.'

(iii) *Vēṇṇāpali-nāḍu*. This name occurs also in the Cochin plates of Bhaskara Ravivarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 68-69), where, however, it is engraved as *Vēṇṇāpali-nāḍu*. In the Cochin grant another king of *Vēṇṇāpali-nāḍu* whose name is similar to the one of our grant, namely, Kōḍai Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ occurs. From the former halves of the *irraṭṭaippēr*, it is evident that they are different from each other. The name *Vēṇṇāpali-nāḍu* was, in later times, rendered into Sanskrit as *Bimbali-dēśa* and its king was consequently styled the *Bimbaliśa*. The later *Bimbaliśas* were known in the vernacular as the *Tekkiṇkūru-rājas*. The large back-water known as the *Vēmbanāḍukāyal*, lying between Alleppey and Cochin, also derives its name from *Vēmboli-nāḍu*. It has nothing to do with *Vēmbanāḍu*, a sub-division of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, as I once mistook it.

Section 4; (ll. 55-189).

In this section reference is made to a number of perpetual lamps set up by various persons and to the lands which were granted by each for this purpose. Some of these were situated in a place called Chennittalai. There is a village bearing this name near Māvēlikarai in Central Travancore. From the details given, we are able to infer that the cost of maintaining one perpetual lamp was 150 *paraḷ* of paddy, a *paraḷ* being in this particular case a measure of 8 *nāḷi*. Some of those who set up the perpetual lamps are the Perumāḷ, the Nambirāṭṭiyār, the Dēviyār, Kuṇṇamuḍaiyār, Vīraśōḷar, Chennittalai-Adigaḷ Irāyaśēgaran, Kumaraḍi of the Muttūru-mūlai, Kiḷānaḍigaḷ, Irāyakeśavaṇ, the Uvachchan (the drummer) of Tiruvallavāl, Pattiraśāraṇigaḷ (?), Eṇaṇ Śaṅgaran, the governor of Purākiḷā-nāḍu, Nambukāliyār, Yakkan-Kōḍai of Peruvayalūr, the Nāyar of Kōmākāḍu, and Irāṇyagarbha-Vikraman of Magilaṇjēri.

Perumāḷ is the common name by which a king is referred to; compare, *Perumāḷ Kulaśēkharadēva*, which occurs in later Pāṇḍya inscriptions.¹ The word *nambirāṭṭiyār* occurring in the inscriptions of the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries refers to the queens, that is, the wives of kings: but in the Malai-nāḍu inscriptions the word seems to refer to the Rāṇis, the sisters and other females, such as the mother, maternal aunt &c., of the royal family.² The word *Dēviyār* occurring in the Malabar inscriptions seems to mean the consorts of the king, who in the Malai-nāḍu are *not* the Rāṇis and whose children have no claim to the throne.³ The names *Vīraśōḷar* and *Kiḷānaḍigaḷ* are definitely known to be those of Parāṇ-taka-Chōḷa I and his queen, the mother of Rājāditya, respectively. We know

1 Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. I. p. 265.

2 See Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. I. pp. 175 and 177.

3 *Ibid.*

from the Anbil plates of Rājākēsarivarman Sundara-Chōla (or Parāntaka II), that Parāntaka-Chōla I, or Vīra-Chōla as he is called therein, married the daughter of the Kēraḷa king Paḷuvēttaraiyar. Kō-kKilāṇaḍigaḷ is distinctly mentioned to be the mother of Rājāditya in one of the inscriptions of Tirunāmanallūr.¹ Śēṇṇitalai-Adigaḷ Irāyaśēgarai is the next important name. It is not certain whether it refers to a person living at the time of the drawing up of this document or to a past donor. Anyhow, we know of a king of the Chēra country, called Rājaēśkhara, whose inscription is edited in this Volume.²

Section 5: (ll. 189-199).

This portion of the inscription enumerates the *Vṛiśchika-vilakku* that were provided for by a number of persons, of whom one was the Sōmāsiyār (Sōmayāji) of Neḍuvēli.

The solar month *Vṛiśchika* is the same as the Kārttigai month, a month peculiarly sacred for burning a number of lamps in each house and in all temples; it is in this month that the *dīpōtsava* takes place in all Hindu temples.³

Section 6: (ll. 199-215).

This section mentions the sources of income for the sandal-paste and incense required for the use of the temple. Among those who had bound themselves to supply sandalwood were Vēṇāṭṭadigaḷ *i e.*, the governor of Vēṇāḍu, and Dharaiyavarimmar of (Tuḍandalaikkāl?). A temple named Kāpālīśvaram is mentioned to have existed in Vēḷūr.

Section 7: (ll. 216-329).

In this section are enumerated the plots of land given by a number of people for the offering of *naivēdya* or *truvamudu* (food offering) to the temple at Tiruvallavāl. One noticeable fact is that these plots of lands yielded mostly one hundred and fifty *paraī* of paddy. From their income, four *nāḷi* of rice were required to be cooked and offered to the deity every day. It is only in a very few instances, the donors have given lands which produced more than 150 *paraī* of paddy or less. One piece of land included in this section was also intended for bathing the image with ghee (*neyyāḍuvān*). The deities other than the chief ones for whom rice offerings had to be made are said to be Tiruvāyambāḍiy-appaṇ (*i e.*, Kṛishṇa) and Varāhappaṇ. One Poṇṇiyakka-Nāyaṇ of Kiḍāṅguparal made a gift of land yielding annually 75 *paraī* which were to be spent for offering *akkāraḍalai* (sugared-rice) to the deity and for meeting the expenses of a *kūttu* (dance or drama to be enacted probably in the *kūttu-maṇḍapam* of the temple).

1 See p. 133, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII.

2 Travancore Archaeological Series Vol. II. pp. 8 ff.

3 कृत्तिकासु च कार्तिक्यां पौर्णमास्यां मधुद्विषः ।

दिक्षु सर्वासु सर्वत्र तथा चावरणेषु च ॥

कूटाकाराः कल्पनीयास्तेषु स्युर्दीपमालिकाः ।

प्राकारभित्तिषु तथा मण्डपे गोपुरेषु च ॥

वह्निभिर्दीपमालाभिर्भाव्यं सर्वासु पद्यज !

The articles given are:— 12 *nāli* of rice, two *nāli* of ghee measured by the *nārāya* - (that is *nārāṣa*) *nāli*, four *nāli* of milk, four coconuts, eight ripe plantain fruits and two *nāli* of sugarcane-juice. From the list of materials given, one can easily see that they are meant for making *akkāraḍalai*. It is said that *Kāliyāṅga-kūttu* was to be performed on the day of the *Rōhiṇī-nak-hattra* that comes off in the month of *Vṛiṣchika*. Perhaps *Rōhiṇī* was the natal star of the donor and *Vṛiṣchika* was the month in which he was born. By *kāliyāṅga-kūttu* is probably meant the dance performed by *Śrī-Kṛiṣṇa* on the hood of the serpent *Kāliya*. The honorarium to be paid to the persons who staged the *kūttu* was fixed at twenty-five *paṇai* of paddy.

In this connection it is interesting to note that temples were provided with theatre halls, known in inscriptions under the name of *kūttambalam* or *āṭṭattu-manḍapam*. Dramatic performances took place in these, mostly during festival occasions, as they still take place in the *Malaināḍu*. Special plays were composed for each festival by eminent paṇḍits and sometimes even by the kings. We know that king *Ravivarma Saṅgrāmadhīra* of *Jayatuṅganāḍu* composed his *Pratya-umṇābhyaḍaya* to be enacted in the *Padmanābhasvāmin* temple at *Trivandrum* during the *Yātrōtsava* festival.¹

The dramas *Tapatisamvaraṇa* and *Subhadrā-Dhananjaya* of *Kulaśekhara* might also have been composed for being boarded during temple festivals. Again, the play called *Adbhuta-panjaram* was written under the patronage of the *Mahratta* king *Sahajirāja* of *Tanjore* to be enacted in the temple of *Kumbhīśvara* at *Kumbhakōṇam* on the occasion of the *mahāmaghōtsava* celebrated annually in that temple²:—

The section continues to enumerate the donations made to the temple for food offering. Some of the names of persons that occur in this part of the section are:—the *Achchiyār* of *Kulakkāḍu*, *Achchutan* *Śēduppirāṇ* of *Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam*, *Maṇukulādicchadēvar* (*Manukulādityadēva*), *Dēviyār*, *Nāṇṇaiyār* of *Ilaṅguṇṇāḍu*, the *Pillaimārs* of *Paḍatalaitturutti* and *Nārāyaṇ* *Śendaṇ* of *Vēlakkāḍu*.

The most important of these names is that of *Manukulādityadēva*. He is said to have granted land when he was still a *yuvarāja* (*iḷaṅḍō-pparuvattu*). Evidently, therefore, at the time when his grant was recorded, he had either become a king or was dead. This *Manukulādityadēva* is mentioned in an inscription of *Bhāskara Ravivarman* found in *Tirumūlīkkaḷam* as a donor to that

1 सूत्रधारः—आर्ये ! समादिष्टोऽस्मि कोलम्बपुरपरिष्कारस्य देवस्य रविवर्मणः
पादपञ्चोपजीविन्या राजपरिषदा, यथा अद्य
.....केरळदेशसुकृतपरिणतेः यादवकुलनृपदैवतस्य भगवतः श्रीपद्मनाभस्य यात्रोत्सवे
किमपि रूपकमभिनवमभिनयता वयं विनोदनीयाः इति ॥

2 सूत्रधारः । सद्दर्थे । आदिष्टोऽस्मि समस्तसुरासुरप्रमुखचराचरस्तोमवन्दितचरणारविन्दस्य मङ्गलनायिका-
कुचकुम्भपरिरम्भसुमगंभाङ्कस्य भगवतः कुम्भीश्वरस्य महामघोत्सवप्रसङ्गेन संगतैर्महाभुजाभैः
सहजिराजविद्वत्पुरुषैः सामाजिकैः ॥

temple.¹ It is ascertained that Bhāskara Ravivarman ascended the throne in A. D. 978 and the date of the inscription referred to above is the 49th year of his reign (A. D. 1027). Therefore, Manukulādityadēva should have ruled over Kēraḷa at or before this date; if before, how long before, it is difficult to say from the epigraphical evidences available at present.

In his *Samkshēpa-Sārīraka*, Sarvajñātman, states that he was the contemporary of a king named Manukulādityadēva. The verse mentioning this king runs as follows:—

श्रीदेवेश्वरपादपङ्कजरजस्संपर्कपूताशयः
सर्वज्ञात्मगिराङ्कितो मुनिवरः संक्षेपशारीरकम् ।
चक्रे सज्जनबुद्धिवर्द्धनमिदं राजन्यवंश्ये नृपे
श्रीमत्यक्षतशासने मनुकुलादित्ये सुवं शासति ॥

This verse has been noticed by Dr. Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar in his *History of Dekkan*, Vol. I, part II. of the *Bombay Gazetteer*. He remarks that “the Dēvēśvara spoken of in the first line is Sureśvara, the pupil of Śaṅkarāchārya”, and takes Manukulāditya as “Āditya (sun) of the race of Manu, the prosperous king of the Kshatriya race” and attempts to identify him with the Chālukya king Vikramāditya II.

In the latest issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of England*, Mr. S. V. Venkatesvara Ayyar also notices this verse referring to Manukulāditya; he also takes the name as a periphrastic one, applied to Āditya-Chōla I of the race of Manu, that is, of the solar race. He personally does not find any difficulty in making this identification. But the truth seems to be quite otherwise. Let us proceed with the study of the life and times of Sarvajñātman from all available sources, in the following paragraph.

In the *Gururatnamālīkā*, a work giving the list of succession of the āchāryas of the Kāmakōṭi-pīṭha or the Kumbhakōṇam Śaṅkarāchāryas, composed by Sadāśivabrahmendra who is said to have lived in A. D. 1508-1560, there occurs the statement that Sarvajñātman vanquished the Jainas. Ātmabōdhendra-sarasvatī (Ś. 1642) the author of Sushumā, the commentary on the *Gururatnamālīkā* gives more information about the life of Sarvajñātman. He writes that Sarvajñātman was a native of an *agrahāra* named *Brahmadēśam* on the bank of the Tānraparnī river. His father's name was Varddhana. When Śaṅkarāchārya went round on a tour of religious wrangle, Varddhana and his disciples were defeated; but Varddhana's son Mahādēva, who was only seven years old at the time, held up the philosophical discussion for three days longer and on the fourth yielded to the great Advaita philosopher. Then he expressed his intense desire to become a *sannyāsīn*. Śaṅkarāchārya conferred upon him the holy order, and after giving him spiritual initiation (*tatvōpadēśa*) bestowed the name Sarvajñātman and placed him on the pontifical seat as his future successor. He became

1 Travancore Archaeological Series Vol. II. p. 46.

later on famous as the author of the *Samkshēpa-Śārirāṭa* and other works. He is said to have adorned the pontifical seat for 70 years along with *Surēśvara-chārya* and then himself for 42 years. He passed away in Kāli 2737 on the *chaturdaśī* of the dark half of the *Vaiśākha* month of the year *Anada*. So far, *Sadāśivabrahmēndra*'s statement. Like Dr. Bhandarkar, the commentator seems to have taken the compound word *Dēvēśvara*, to be equivalent to *Surēśvara* and from this identification, made the next guess, namely, *Dēvēśvara* *alias* *Surēśvara* must be the same as the disciple of *Śaṅkarāchārya*. The steps, by which the conclusion is arrived at, appear to be satisfactory, but, the colophon of the work called *Pramāṇalakṣhaṇam*, also said to have been written by *Sarvajñātman*, runs as follows:—

श्रीदेवेश्वरपादपद्मरजसा सद्यः पवित्रीकृतः
 सर्वज्ञात्महामुनिः प्रकरणं चक्रे त्रिकाण्डीगतम् ।
 यस्त्वेतत्पुरुषोऽवगच्छति स वै भूमण्डले पण्डितः
 तद्वार्त्तिकदुर्विदग्धदमने दक्षो मुमुक्षुर्भवेत् ॥

And the list of succession is given there as follow:—

Śrī Śrēshṭhānanda Pāda
 |
 (his disciple)
 Śrī Dēvānanda Pāda
 |
 (his disciple)
 Śrī Dēvēśvara Pāda
 |
 (his disciple)
 Śrī Sarvajñātma Pāda.

From the marked resemblance between the wording of the two colophons, namely, those of the *Samkshēpa-Śārirāṭa* and the *Pramāṇalakṣhaṇa*, it seems more than probable that the two works were written by the same author; but, the pedigree of this author as given in the latter work does not disclose any relationship with *Śaṅkarāchārya* and his maṭha. Wherefrom *Ātmabōdhēndrasarasvatī* got the detailed history of *Sarvajñātman* is not patent and in the absence of this information we have to take his statement *cum grano salis*. But one thing is certain, namely, that *Sarvajñātman* was a contemporary of *Manukulāditya*, who lived, as we have mentioned before, at or some time prior to the reign of *Bhāskara Ravi-varman*, that is, in or before 978 A. D. His connection with the *Kēraḷa* country

might perhaps be inferred from his verses in the *Saṁkshēpa-Śārīraka* praising the god Padmanābha,¹ at Trivandrum.

There is thus no doubt that Sarvajñātman lived at least six generations after Śaṅkarāchārya, if we take that the latter flourished in the first part of the 9th century. He could not have been Śaṅkarāchārya's disciple's disciple as it is attempted to be made out by Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Venkatesvara Ayyar.

That the name Manukulāditya should not be divided so as to mean Āditya of the race of Manu is patent from the fact that it occurs in that form even in ordinary prose inscriptions, as opposed to poetic compositions. Again one of the suburbs of Trivandrum is still known by the name Manukulādichchamaṅgalam, a fact which clearly corroborates the view stated above.

Section 8: (ll. 329-345).

When Jupiter stood in Mithuna and the sun in Mēsha, the following business was transacted by the townsmen of Tiruvallavāḷ, who had met unanimously in the temple of Tiruvallavāḷ-Appaṇ:—Ravi Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ, the governor of Venṇoli-nāḍu, gave to the temple of Tiruvallavāḷ-appaṇ the village of Kuḍavūr which belonged to him, together with the eighteen *varisai* (taxes?) which accrued from it and the *anṇāḍi* (is it *anṇāḍippāṭṭam* that is meant here?). It was granted as a *kīḷiḍu*, for which he bound himself, to pay eighteen *kaḷaṇju* of gold and 360 *paṇai* of paddy which were received as the *rakshābhōgam* and the *sūḍumurai*(?). It is said that commencing from the year following the date mentioned above, the gold and the paddy due from the officers of the village of Kuḍavūr, should be delivered over in the hands of the *Samañjitan* annually on the day of Viśākhā in the month of Vaiśākha.

From the eighteen *kaḷaṇju* of gold thus collected, the two *mēl-śānti* were allowed to take fifteen *kāṇam* and the *kīḷ-śānti* another fifteen. The balance of fifteen *kaḷaṇju* was set apart for performing five *snayanas*. If, by their remissness, they did not collect the sum as it fell due (*amainjakālattu*), Ravi Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ would not be liable to pay the usual penalty of double the amount. Though he is thus exempt from the penalty, he is still bound to give the fixed amount. *Rakshābhōgam* shall be obtained and the property secured against the wrath of the king and the *sāmantas*.² The *kīḷiḍu* of Kuḍvūr shall be subject to the decision of Śaṅkaramaṅgalam. We learn incidentally that a *kaḷaṇju* was equal to ten *kāṇam*.

¹ अविरलपदपङ्क्तिः पद्मनाभस्य पुण्या

चरणकमलधूलिग्राहिणी भारतीयम् ।

घनतरमुपधातं श्रेयसः श्रोतुसङ्घात्

सुरसरिदिव सद्यो मार्तु माङ्गल्यहेतुः ॥

भुजङ्गमाङ्गसायिने विहङ्गमाङ्ग गामिने

तुरङ्गमाङ्ग मेदिने नमो रथाङ्ग धारिणे ।

² After this occurs a passage which may be rendered thus:—

The *arōḷar* shall not enter into the transaction, prevent the payment or receive the dues. Such of them as act against it, shall be deprived of their *arāṇmai* (i. e. their official position), and their place in the assembly (*paraḍai*). [K. V. S.]

Section 2: (Il. 345-349).

Kumaraṇ Iyakkaṇ, the governor of Tekkiṅkūru in Venṇoli-nādu gave land for offering and a lamp; some portion of the paddy required for these, seems to have been derived from the village of Muṭṭāru. He also gave a silver salver and a *kaṇḍi* (kaṇṭhi, a necklace) set with rubies.¹

From the above, it is clear that Venṇoli-nādu had, at the time of this document, been divided into Tekkiṅkūru, and Vadakkiṅkūru. The governor of the former was Kumaraṇ Iyakkaṇ while that of the latter Iravi Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ.

Section 10: (Il. 349-360).

On the day of Viśākhā which corresponded to a Wednesday, in the solar month Makara, when Jupiter stood in Tulā, Kaṇḍaṇ Kumaraṇ *aliās* Māḷuvakkōṇ of Kīḷumalai made arrangements for the *pañḥamahāśabdas* to be sounded on the occasion of offering śrībali in the temple of Tiruvallavāḷ-Appaṇ. Śrībali offerings are made thrice a day. During each one of these three occasions, there should be four *seṇḍai*, one *timilai*, one *śēgaṇḍi*, one pair of cymbals and two *kūyaḷam*, to produce the five great sounds (*pañḥamahāśabda*). For any remissness on their part the persons appointed for the purpose shall be subjected to the prescribed fines which are not defined here. For the maintenance of the nine persons thus appointed, the donor allotted the village named Neḍumbalā-nādu which belonged to him. From this land, thirty *kalam* of paddy, as measured by the *iḍaṇḡaḷi* should be collected annually and delivered into the temple granary on the day of Rōhiṇī in the month of Kumbham. If it is not remitted within the said date, the *Poduvāl*² should cause the villagers to make good the paddy. The meaning of the phrase *ūr taḍuttu vaichchukollakkaḍavar* is not quite clear.³ A similar phrase occurs also in line 46 of the Kōṭṭayam Syrian Christian plates No. II.⁴ This gift was caused to be made by Iyakkaṇ Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkaḷaṇ, the two officers (of the temple) and the 'Six hundred'.⁵

Section 11: (Il. 360-391).

In connection with the oil required for the temple, the following arrangement was made by the assembly of Dvādaśi-gaṇattār which met with an unanimous mind in the temple (*mukkālvattom*) of Tiruvallavāḷappuṇ. The persons who had bound themselves to supply the oil should be divided into twenty divisions (*paḍaḡāram*) and each division further subdivided into eighteen share-holders (*paṇḡu*) making a total of 360 *paṇḡu* (that is, a *paṇḡu* for one day in the year) and each one of the share-holders should be obliged to measure out the stipulated oil *per diem* in turn, beginning from the next ensuing Chitrai-Vishu. The

- 1 *Kaṇḍi* may also be taken to mean 'a drinking vessel with spout'.
- 2 It would appear that the name *Poduvāl* was originally applied to the *Muttadu* attached to temples.
- 3 The meaning of the passage seems to be that if the payment is not made on the prescribed date i. e., on the day of Rōhiṇī in the month of Kumbham of each year, the *poduvāl* shall have the right to eject the owner (who in this case is Kaṇḍaṇ Kumaraṇ) and to have the village in their possession. [K. V. S.]
- 4 Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. II. p. 82.
- 5 Regarding the "Six hundred", see the Travancore Archaeological Series Vol. II. pp. 73-74.

twenty divisions mentioned above are: Mundaippalli, Magalañjēri, Tāmaraiḷam, Teṅgamaṇ belonging to Mikuṇṇam, Dēvarpaḷli, Puṇṇaichēri, Kāṭṭūr, Teṅgamaṇ, Neduvēli, Maṅgalachchēri, Mānikkamaṅgalam and Ilamaṇ,—in all twelve villages,—and these shall constitute the first group (*vattam*). The villages of Mādamaṇ, Magalañjēri of Peruṅḷam (or Peruṅḷam and Magalañjēri), Teṅgamaṇ of Kariyaṇādu, Idaichchēri, Chennarrurutti, Mundaippalli, Kuṛichchi, Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam, Puṇjaippadagāram and Paṇambūr shall constitute the second group (*vattam*).¹ (In the first half of the year), the first group shall supply² the oil and the second group shall receive it; and (in the second half of the year), the second group shall supply it and the first group shall receive it. The person who delivers the oil for any day shall do so before the 'five-feet' time of the forenoon (that is, when a man's shadow measures five feet). If he fails to bring it within the fixed time (of day), he shall be subjected to the fine of supplying double the quantity. The man who brings the oil to the temple, shall be given one *nāḷi* of rice. If the person who has to supply the oil fails to do so, for one or two days, he shall be subjected to give the double of what is due from him, and if the remissness extends to three days, he shall, in addition to the doubling of his dues, be obliged to pay a fine of 10 *kāṇam* of gold. If, however, he does not give oil for all the eighteen days to which he has bound himself, he should pay a fine of 6 *kaḷaṇju* of gold. If the number of days during which he fails to discharge his duty falls between three and eighteen, he is to become liable to a fine of three *kaḷaṇju* of gold, as also double the quantity of oil. He should not be allowed to begin to supply oil after a period of remissness, unless he had already paid down the fine for those days. He that fails to supply the oil for the total period of eighteen days, shall not, unless he pays all the fines and dues, be eligible to mess in the temple, (*uṭṭu*), associate with others (*?kūṭṭam*) and hold the land-tenure (*pāṭṭam*). During the days of remissness of such a person, the persons belonging to the remaining divisions shall assume his right and begin to provide the temple with oil. The share-holders are not allowed to sell or mortgage among themselves the lands held in tenure by them. One of the conditions imposed on the *idaivīḍaṇ* and the *ūvāḷaṇ* was that they should not give permission to plough or lease out the land. Adducing any sort of cause, no one shall stop the supply of oil, misuse the land set apart for it, advise others to do so, embezzle the income from the lands or cease to pay such income. He that does not do as described above shall be subjected to a fine of fifty *kaḷaṇju* of gold to the temple, another fine of twenty-five *kaḷaṇju* to the *sabhā* and a third fine of fifteen *kaḷaṇju* to the then *Koyiladhikāri* and shall be treated as one who has wronged against the decrees of Mūḷikkalām (*Mūḷikkalakkacham*). May this arrangement continue for several hundred-thousand years.

Section 12: (ll. 391-403).

In this section are mentioned the donations made for supplying oil required for the two *ayanas* of the year. They are as follow:—

1. It is noted that the villages of the first and second *vattam* together number more than twenty.
2. The word used is *attuvīdu* and it is taken to be another form of *attuvīdu*.

Two <i>tulām</i>	of oil by the people of Maḍannaṅ, from (the income of) Ērumaittānam and Venpālaichchāṇṇār-kādu.
One <i>tulām</i>	„ by Ālañjēri-Aḍigal.
Do.	„ from the garden attached to Tiladamaṅgalam.
Do.	„ „ of Pokkaṇḍanār of Neḷiñṇāḍu.
Do.	„ by Śāraṅgapāṇi Kēṣavaṅ Tāvaṅ of Neydaḷchēri in Mānāmaṅgalam, from (the income of) Neḍuntāru.
Four <i>tulām</i>	„ by Idaichchēriyavaṅ, from the (income of) Vaḷava- ṇār-oḍi and Maṇaḷḍaiyāṅ-kari. Two <i>tulāms</i> of this are for the two <i>aṇas</i> and the remaining two <i>tulām</i> for the two Vishus.

The oil from the income of Veṭṭitturāi-irai.

Section 13: (Il. 403-438).

The following is the schedule of expenditure to be incurred during the festival of Ōṇam in the month of Āvaṇi:—The income for this item of expenditure is eighty *paraī* of paddy from a portion of the land called Veliyaṇārkāḍu belonging to Śēndaṅ Kēṣavaṅ of Idaichchēri and a hundred and twenty-five *paraī* of paddy from the plot of land known as the Tiruvōṇakkari in Muñṇi-nāḍu. The following is the expenditure for the paddy thus obtained:—

For burning one lamp that day—one *uri* of ghee.

For 5 *kāṇam* of camphor—40 *nāḷi* of paddy.

For 10 *kāṇam* of sandal-paste—5 *nāḷi* of paddy.

For 10 *kāṇam* of *agil* for burning incense—10 *nāḷi*.

Two garlands.

Seven hundred *nāḷi* of rice, as measured by the *nāḷi* measure kept in the temple kitchen, should be cooked and offered to the gods in the eastern and western shrines: out of this rice one half shall be given to students. Over and above the seven hundred *nāḷi* of rice, four *nāḷi* of rice shall be cooked and offered to the god Varāhappaṇ; four *nāḷi* to (the god Kṛishṇa of) Tiruvāyambādi; four *nāḷi* for the hospital (*āṭira-sālai*); four *nāḷi* for the god Ayyappaṇ (Ārya, or Śāsta); twelve *nāḷi* for the bhūta-bali; sixteen *nāḷi* for the Mahāyakshī (*māyiyakki*). Kuravaṅ and Āmandaiyūr; twenty *nāḷi* for two *mēl-emberumakkal* (the modern Embrāṇ) who are the chief *sāntikkār* (*mēl-sānti*) and fifty *nāḷi* for five assistants (*i. e.*, *kīl-sāntikkār*): four *nāḷi* to *bhaṭṭars*; four *nāḷi* to Ayyappaṇ Emberumaṅ; four *nāḷi* to the *kīl-samaṅjitaṅ*; twenty *nāḷi* to five *bhaṇḍāris* (*paṇḍāri*); four *nāḷi* to the person who supplies leaves; four *nāḷi* to him who keeps guard: for the drummers who beat the drums

- during the offering of the *śrībali* and for those that discharge the duties of *Velichchappāḍu* (? *Vilikkum-aragal*) who total thirty-three persons, each to get three *nāḷi* of rice.
- Ghee, eight *nāḷi* as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*.
- Five *nāḷi* of oil, as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi* to be supplied to those who desire for it for their oil-bath, the cost of the ghee and oil being twenty-six *paraḷi* of paddy.
- Pepper one *nāḷi*, as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*: cost of the same, 10 *nāḷi* of paddy.
- Cumin one *nāḷi*, as measured by the *uḷakku*, cost being 10 *nāḷi* of paddy.
- Asaetida one *palam*; cost two *paraḷi* of paddy.
- Cocoanuts sixty.
- Ripe plantains six bunches.
- Unripe plantains seven bunches; in each of the bunches there should be, on an average, sixty. The paddy required to purchase the ripe and unripe plantains is hundred *nāḷi*.
- Green gram 10 *nāḷi*, as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*.
- Betel leaves 10,000 and proportionate quantity of arcanuts: fifteen *paraḷi* of paddy for this item.
- For four persons who sweep the inner portions of the temple, 8 *nāḷi* of rice.
- For the person who supplies firewood, 20 *nāḷi* of rice.
- For the potter who supplies the temple with earthenware vessels for cooking, 20 *nāḷi*.
- For *aḍaiyamirdu*,¹ four *nāḷi*.
- For him who keeps account of the expenditure for the day and reads it (publicly) afterwards, 5 *nāḷi*.
- For four persons who knit flower-garlands, 8 *nāḷi* of rice.
- For those who sweep the outer portions of the temple, 8 *nāḷi*.
- For those who sweep the temple premises outside the enclosure wall (*maḍiṭṭu-puram*), 4 *nāḷi*.
- For salt, tamarind and cocoanuts, 8 *paraḷi* of paddy.
- For green gram, two *paraḷi* and a half.
- Vāgai-ppōḍi*, two *nāḷi*.
- Twenty five *paraḷi* of rice from seed paddy (are set apart) from Tombūr-kari for the early morning offering on the day of Ōnam. From them 200 *nāḷi* of sacred offerings shall be made. Besides this the additional paddy to be paid from the *kari* are:—
- 200 *nāḷi* of rice for the sacred offerings to the god.

¹ It may mean either the cake called *aḍai* or betel leaves.

5 *nāḷi* of rice to each of the bhāṭṭas who discourse on the Śāstra.

3 *nāḷi* (of rice) for him who presents the hand-lamp and supplies arecanuts and betel-leaves.

12 *nāḷi* (of rice) for four dancing girls.

And 40 *paraḷ* of paddy, at the rate of six *nāḷi* of paddy (each), for those who had to sound the beating instruments.

Section 14: (ll. 438-468).

The following are the items of income of rice for offerings to be made to the god Tiruvallavāḷappan as soon as He is roused from sleep (early in the morning):—two hundred *nāḷi* from Kāraikkāl; one hundred *nāḷi* from the plot of land known as Valiyavēli in Nēlinnāḍu; two hundred *nāḷi* from the land called Vāḷagattār-ōḍi set apart by Kuṇṇan Iravi of Paḷḷam; one hundred *nāḷi* from the land. Añṇaṇaḍḍiḷḷai and the garden attached to it; forty *nāḷi* from the garden called Paḷavirukkai; ten *paraḷ*, as measured by the *paraḷ* measure of eight *nāḷi* capacity, from the garden belonging to Kiriṭṭaṇ (Kṛishṇaṇ) of Kaṇṇuḷai, which has been taken on mortgage by Yakkāṇ (or Yachchan) Kōḍai; forty *nāḷi* of seed from the garden of Kōḍai Gōvindaṇṇar of Kaṇṇuḷai-paraḷ; fifty *nāḷi* of seed from the land called Tāmaraiṇḍūr-kkari; one hundred *nāḷi* of rice from the garden called Kāraṇikāḍar-puraiyidam; forty *nāḷi* of rice from the garden Kūpakattu-puraiyidam; one hundred *nāḷi* of seed from the ōḍi of Korraṇkāṇṇar of Kaidai-pparaḷ; fifty *nāḷi* of seed from Tārṇuḷai in the Kaidai-paraḷ-uḷnāḍu; fifty *nāḷi* of seed from the land (*kari*) of Māṇṇaṇ of Puṇṇaikkunṇam; fifty *nāḷi* of rice from Śiṛumaṇṇpuraiyidam; forty *nāḷi* of rice from Maṇṇiyirukkum-puraiyidam; Amirdamaṇḡalattavaṇ made arrangements for the supply of one hundred *nāḷi* of rice and one *nāḷi* of ghee, measured by the *iḍaṇḡaḷi*, for the early morning offering (after the awakening of the god) from the *rakṣabhāḡam* on his *iḍaiyīḍu* lands; this item has to be collected from the *chērikkal* called Eḷu-nīṇṇūr; on the day the god goes to sleep,¹ shall be collected from the produce of the garden on the hill in Māṇṇamaṇḡalam 24 *nāḷi* of rice and one *nāḷi* of ghee, measured by the *iḍaṇḡaḷi*; fifty *nāḷi* of rice from Mūlērppaḍuvattu Vāraṇḡaḍar-puraiyidam; one *nāḷi* of ghee, measured by the *iḍaṇḡaḷi*, from the garden of Gōvindaṇṇar of Śālappuḷai; one *nāḷi* of ghee, measured by the *iḍaṇḡaḷi*, from Kuṇṇakāṭṭu-puraiyidam east of Muṇḡipparaḷ; one hundred *nāḷi* of rice from the lands of Ayakaṇ for the penalty that he became subject to. The following are the money income for the *dānam* to be made on the occasion of the god's going into sleep:—ten *kāṇam* of gold given by Kuṇṇan Iravi of Paḷḷam on one hundred *kalam* of paddy produced in the Vāḷagattār-ōḍi; ten *kāṇam* of gold by Yakkīyammai of his family raised on the same property; ten *kāṇam* of gold by Kuṇṇan Gōvindaṇṇar of Paḷḷam from the garden Nēlinnāḍu-puraiyidam; ten *kāṇam* of gold on Tār-appaṇaraḷ; two and a half *kāṇam* of gold by Kaṇḍaṇ of Marudañchēri from his garden Śiṇṇōḍi; five *kāṇam* of gold from Śeṇbagachchēri-puraiyidam; two *kaḷaṇḡu* of gold to be paid by the farmers of Śeṇṇaṇ-kari; two *kaḷaṇḡu* of gold from the *kārāṇmai* portion of Paḍaiṇāyarmāḍattāṇṇini and Kuṇṇavāḷkkai both in Śiṛukaḍaitturutti.

1. The god Vishṇu is said to go to sleep on the *Ekādaśi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa and awake on the *Ekādaśi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika; this period of four months is observed as the *chāturmāsya-vrata* by the Brāhmaṇa Saṃnyāsins and under the name of *cassa* by the Bauddhas.

which are taken in mortgage for this purpose; one *kānam* of gold from Anukkan-vāḷkkai; ten *kānam* from Taṭṭam-pārai-vāḷkkai and Kuṭṭumēl. The plots of land allotted for the seven days' festival to be celebrated soon after the awakening of the god are:—(Here plate 32 is lost).

Section 15: (Il. 469-479).

This section is only a copy of the latter portion of section 8.

Section 16: (Il. 479-486).

The plots of lands set apart for feeding Brāhmanas (*tiruvakkiram*) are:—

Makku-tittai; Mayilaṇ-ōḍi in Āḍanturatti; Gōvindaṇārkaṇi on the south of the river, leased out for seventy-five *paṛai* of paddy; Irāyiṅgattāṇ-vēli (Rājaśiṅgattāṇ-vēli) in Vāḷaippalli Pudukkari in Parudaittittai near the river, yielding 75 *paṛai* of paddy, as measured by the *paṛai* of nine *nāḷi* capacity; Kurukkulaiyūr-Maṇṇāḍu; Kāñjirakkāḍu in the Neḍungāli-nāḍu; Kuruvēli, the waste land and channel belonging to it situated in the Tamarra-nāḍu; Śīrvīḍu in Īśānamaṅgalam; Muḍalam in Tekkāṇam; Kumāṇkari and Karaippuraiyidam farmed by those who live in Āṭṭuṭṭipparaṁbu; Āṇaiyaḍi (Here plate 34 is lost).

Section: 17 (Il. 487-531).

The commencement of this section, which should have contained the object of the grant, is lost in the missing plate. Two *paṛai* from one *tuḍavai*; the income from Kāṭṭumaṇ which is under the cultivation of the people of Pūṇḍōṭṭam; the garden called Nāgamaṅgala-ppuraiyidam in Irupalli-ppuraiyidam and one half of Irupalli-ppuraiyidam itself; four *paṛai* of paddy from the Kurūrār-karumbu; Śālaiyārkūḷi; the income from Śampakakkōṭṭam; Puṇṇaikkulam; Śūḍukaṇḍalkari in Puṇṇāhōli-nāḍu; the garden of Mābaliyār; the garden called Pūṇḍōṭṭam; the garden named Pōral near (or outside of) the temple (or palace, *kōyil*); Pālaip-palañjiyār-ōḍi, yielding 75 *paṛai*; the income of two hundred *kalam*, as measured by the ten-*nāḷi* measure, from a portion of Kaḷḷakkari whose sowing capacity is 60 *paṛai*; thirty *paṛai* of paddy, as measured by the ten *nāḷi* measure, from Poṇkoḍuttāṇ-śālā on the way to Maṇṇintōḍu; the rent on Kaḍamaṇkari in Nīraṇam whose sowing capacity is sixty *paṛai*; the rent on Śeriyudaiyārkāḍu the sowing capacity of 25 *paṛai*; the rent of 75 *paṛai* on Kunrattārvalāl; the rent on Neṭṭāli in Turutti with the sowing capacity of 15 *paṛai*; Puḷivēlipuṇam; Nāruvāvali Paṇṇiman; Kuḷappalliṇalāl; the rent of four *paṛai* of paddy on Kāñjirappaḍuvam; Kadaippaṇṇiṇṇāḍu and the people dwelling in it; hundred *nāḷi*, as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*, from Taruttikkari-ppuraiyidam; Tuḷatturai-Ērimaṇ, twenty five *paṛai* from Puṇṇaivēli; Pāchchappāy; one fourth of the income from Kōḍaikari, (one) hundred *kalam*; 15 *paṛai* from the garden called Maṇḍapam; Kalvēli, 15 *paṛai*, in Puṇṇaikkunṇam; Peruṅgalvēli, one hundred *paṛai*; Śirukalvēli, thirty *paṛai*; Kaidakkōḍu, fifty *paṛai*; Puṇṇaḍuvattōḍi, fifty *paṛai*; Paḷḷōvēli, 20 *paṛai*; Vēḷakkāḍu near the Ālaikkāl bridge; Āṭṭiraiy-arkāḍu, 40 *paṛai*, assigned by the Adhikāri; a portion of Āḍaṇṇurutti-valāl in Śirumudaimaṇṇa-maṇḍayam, seven and a half *paṛai*; Puduṇṇaivāḷāl; Puḷaiyaṇ-mudai; Śirukōḷ-muṇṇam; Kaṇṇaṇāḍu; thirty *paṛai* from Kamugiṇpuraiyāru, for coconuts and tamarind; Śelai; Maṇṇaṇavaḍuvam, thirty *paṛai*; Neṇṇmali, fifty *paṛai*; the tax of sixty *nāḷi* as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*, from Neṇṇmali; forty *nāḷi*

from Tirucheherppattōḍi; forty *nāḷi* from the *ōḍi* belonging to the god at Tala-turai; sixty *nāḷi* from Neṇmali belonging to the man at Māṇikkamaṇḍalam; this tax is (? உபாயத்தூக்கு) on Kaṇṇapādu; the rent on Kōḍaikappir-kōḷu, 75 *parai*; the land given by Dēvaṇ Śendaṇ of Māḍamaṇ is Nāvittikkari, fifty *kalam*; one and a half *ōḍi* in Kumāṇpaḍuvam; the same is also applicable to Kōraḡai; the rent on Kōḷagam, 75 *parai*, in the division (*kōṇam*) of Kaḍittāṇam, assigned by Nambu Nāraṇaṇ of Puligai; the income from the two fields *viz.*, one third of *ōḍi*, which is under the cultivation of the people of Orupurakkāḍu and Kaṭṭaikkālvēli, together 15 *parai*.

The following are the plots of land assigned by Nāvattivār of Mūlaiyil for feeding students (*chhātras*): the rent on Nettōḍi and Dēvarvēli in Śemmittalai of the sowing capacity of 60 *parai* of paddy; for this, there is to be *upāyattakku* (?); Valachcharavēli in Muttāru-Tūppaḍu-vam; and Kaṇḍaṅkari, 120 *parai*.

The following are the plots of lands assigned by Nilakandaṇ Yakkarāvaṇ of Vaḍaiśeri for food offering to the god:—the rent on Kaḍavēli, 40 *parai*, belonging to Iḷiṇṇiṇam; the rent on Iḷavāṇolukkam, 100 *nāḷi* as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*, belonging to Venpālaivayal; the income of one in three from Iḍaiyāḍi, 75 *kalam*; the rent on Iḷavāḍaiśerippurāy, 100 *nāḷi* as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*, belonging to Venpālaivayal; the income of 12 *kalam* from Paṇappu; Kilimāpūr, four *kalam*; Kōṭṭuttalai, four *kalam*; Dēvartuḍavai in Paḷḷippuram, two *tūni* as measured by the double *tūni* measure; Avarāṇimangalam, 4 *kalam*, together with Karaṇp-puraiyidam and Paḷḷōppalli-Kōṭṭarai; the paddy equivalent of the gold that is due as rent on Ayōkamaṇṇūr is 608 *parai* and a half of seed paddy; also the gold that is paid by the same, as such, is 33 *kaḷaṇṇu*, which has to be paid in the (temple) treasury. Kiruttāṇ (Kṛishṇaṇ) Dēvaṇ of Vilakkilimaṇḍalam shall give, on the day of Ōṇam in the month of Āvaṇi to the god Tiruvallavāḷappaṇ, 50 *nāḷi* of rice, as measured by the *nāḷi* preserved in the temple kitchen, being the income arising from his garden in Kāṭṭūr.

Section 18: (ll. 532-537).

At the time when Jupiter stood in Mēsha and the sun in Karkāṭaka, Rāmaṇ Kōḍaivarmaṇ of Muṇṇi-nāḍu granted,—together with the *rakshābhōga* of 200 *parai* of paddy, as measured by the *parai* holding ten *nāḷi*,—his *vāḷayam*, *muṭṭam*, *karai* and *vayal*, in the presence of the members of the Dvādaśiṅgaṇa who had met, without any dissensions among them, in the temple (at Tiruvallavāḷ) for the requirements of oil. This shall be collected and paid on the Svāti nakshatra day in the month of Vaiyyāśi. If the *iḍaiyīḍar* cause any damage at Śerikkal, they shall be liable to a fine of one *taḍam* of oil.

Section 19: (ll. 537-542).

At the time when Jupiter stood in Kanni and the sun in Dhanuṣ, Rāmaṇ-mādevī of Muṇṇināḍu gave as *kīḷiḍu* her lands named Iṇṇaitturutti and Kuḷik-kāḍu together with their tenants to the god Tiruvallavāḷappaṇ. With the income accruing from these lands, a food offering of 4 *nāḷi* shall be made to the god. The *emberumakkaḷ* and the *poduvāḷ* shall be paid one hundred *nāḷi* of paddy, as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*. The grant was made inclusive of Kakkai-iravam.

From Pañichchavirutti or paddy from the lands set apart for this duty of *pūjā* (*virutti* lands), just as in the case of the Gaṇattār, to be received in two instalments, measured by the *tāni* measure of nine *nāḷi*¹.

Hundred cocoanuts.

From Kavalchchai,	200	<i>parai</i> measured by the <i>parai</i> of ten <i>nāḷi</i> .
„ Pūrakkanaṭṭār-oḍi, Pottangaṇārkkari, Mūṇṇaṇṇukari and Paḍikkīru,	100	<i>parai</i> of eight <i>nāḷi</i> .
„ Āṇaimaṇṇam,	75	<i>parai</i> .
„ Śūral-mudai	50	do.
„ Pōttaṇṇaṅgalam,	25	do.
„ Kuḷakkāḍu,	100	do.
„ Paruttikkāḍu,	12½	do.
„ Kaṇṇaṇṇāḍu given to Tāyaṇ Vikramaṇ of Kīḷach-chēri,	20	do.
„ Kāṭṭūr-oḍi given to him of Pūḍi-kkōḍu,	15	do.
„ Poṇṇēli above the land known as Ayyaṇṇāḍu,	25	do.
„ Maṇḍilakkalam,	75	do.
„ Vaikundapuram,	12½	do.
„ Kalvēli,	8	do.
„ Kuṇṇiyil-muṭṭam,	2	do.
„ Maṇḍapattu-puraiyiḍam,	12½	do.
„ Kurukkannār-maṇṇam,	25	do.
„ Iravinallūr-puraiyiḍam in measured) by the <i>iṇṇaḷi</i> .	Kaṇṇunilaikkulaṅgarai 50 <i>nāḷi</i> (as	
„ Tāḷaṅgāl,	30	<i>parai</i> .
„ Naḍuvattu Vādudēvaṇ of Śaṅkara-maṅgalam,	12½	do.
„ Bhaṭṭa Sōmayāji of Vilakkilimaṅgalam, on the land known as Elumuḷai,	12½	<i>parai</i> .

1 Two ways of interpreting this passage other than the one given in the text may be suggested viz:—

(i) The paddy derived from service-lands viz. two *paḍāgāram*, as measured by the *tāni*, holding nine *nāḷi*, shall be taken just as the gaṇattār.

(ii) (In exchange) for the nine *nāḷi* and one *tāni* of paddy derived from service-lands, two *paḍāgāram* shall be taken just as the gaṇattār.

In the former case, *paḍāgāram* would denote a grain measure of larger capacity than the *tāni*; and in the latter case, *paḍāgāram* would mean some article other than paddy. *Paḍāgāram* is not explained in dictionaries. From the context, it appears very likely that *paḍāgāram* is a grain measure.—E. V. S.

"	The residents of Puḷaikkarai-marṇam,	3	<i>paraī</i> .
"	Śaṅkaraṇ of Śenbagavēli,	12½	do.
"	Naraśiṅgamaṅgalam,	12½	do.
"	The residents of Naṇṇupurai-Kayilāyam,	2	do.
"	The puraiyiḍam of Vayiravāṇaṇ of Marṇam,	5	do.
"	Vaṇjikkāl	6	<i>paraī</i> and (one) <i>uḷakku</i> .
"	Kuraṇḍiyōḍi	5	<i>paraī</i> .
"	Kuḷakkāṭṭutarai,	12½	do.
"	Maṅgalappaḍuvam,	15	do.
"	The residents of Iḍaichchēri in Ayyaṇāḍu,	10	do.
"	Śeṇṇaṇ of Mērchēri,	6	<i>paraī</i> and (one) <i>uḷakku</i> .
"	The residents of Kayilāyam,	2	<i>paraī</i> .
"	Dāmōdaraṇ of Dēvarpaḷḷi,	12½	do.
"	Iṭṭiyamaṇ, one-third of the income (mēloḍi).		
"	Muḷaimaṇai-puraiyiḍam,	6	<i>paraī</i> and (one) <i>uḷakku</i> .
"	Kōyirpurattu-puraiyiḍam,	16	<i>paraī</i> .
"	The puraiyiḍam of the oilmongers and Ūragam,	8	<i>paraī</i> .
"	The residents of Paḷḷam,	6	<i>paraī</i> and (one) <i>uḷakku</i> .
"	Iraṇṇakarpaṇ (Hiraṇyagarbhaṇ?) of Puṇṇaichchēri (Here plate No. 41 is lost).		

From	Kāpālimaṅgalam,	300	<i>nāḷi</i> .
"	Śēḍiṅgamaṅgalam,	25	<i>paraī</i> .
"	Paḷḷam	6	<i>paraī</i> and (one) <i>uḷakku</i> .

Kumaraṇ Śēndaṇ of Peṇaṅgaḍu shall give 30 *paraī* of good paddy, as measured by the *paraī* belonging to the Mēṇmaṇai, on the eastern *tarai*, which is one of the three *tarai*.

Vāsudēvaṇ of Ālaṇjēri shall pay to the *mēl-sānti* 2 *paraī* and (one) *uḷakku* of paddy for the *kārāṇmai* of the western *tarai* of Kuḷakkāḍu.

Dēvaṇ Vikramaṇ of Magalaṇjēri gave for the *kīl-sānti* the two plots of lands, viz. Tūyōḍi in the dry-crop land in Iravinallūr and the portion belonging to him in Ukurriyār-kāḍu situated in the dry-crop lands of Talaiyāru, 40 *paraī*. If these were not sufficient he shall give more of good paddy.

Kēyavaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kuṇṇattūr gave for *mēl-sānti* one-half of the portion of the *tarai* in Kochchāppuram which belonged to him and whose sowing capacity was 3 *paraī* and one *nāḷi*.

The same person gave for *mēl-sānti* one half of the *puraiyidam* where he resided and which required one half of 10 *nāli* of seed as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*.

Kṛishṇaṇ Dēvaṇ of Vilakkilimaṅgalam gave for *mēl-sānti* the land known as Kannaṇ-kari which belonged to him and which yielded 5 *paraḷ* of paddy.

Section 24: (ll. 606-622).

The lands assigned for the (*individual*) drummers who have to beat during the *śrī-bali* and for the company of them (who have to serve during) festivals are:—

In Vaṇjikkāl, one *tuḍai* (with the sowing capacity of) 225 *paraḷ*; and another *tuḍai* of 200 *paraḷ*.

Tōḍu, 25 *paraḷ*.

Kaliṟu, 100 *nāli*.

Aṟappuṇam, 45 *tūṇi*, as measured by the *tūṇi* holding 9 *nāli*.

Tattalippuṇam, 75 *paraḷ*.

Kannaṇ-kari, 100 do.

Kamugudaiyaṇ-vēli, 100 *nāli*.

Tumbaimaṇal, 40 *paraḷ*.

Paraḷiyaṇ-vaḷāl 30 do.

Karuntālai-mudai, consisting of two *oḍi* 25 *paraḷ*.

The land called Ālakkālppuṇam assigned for the bathing of the god in Kurumāppalli, 250 *paraḷ*.

From Kallūrpūṇam, 150 do.

„ Tattaiyār-taṟai, 25 do.

„ Pālavēli and Purattāṟu 25 do.

„ The eastern *oḍi* of the *paraḷ*, 25 do.

One-third of the produce of the land called Śeriyapūṇam in Śiṟiya-Ālakkālppuṇam belonging to Tiruvāyambāḍi (shall be) for the drummers.

The lands assigned for the troop during the Tiruvādirai-festival are:—

Ayyaṇvēli and the income in paddy from the four *puraiyidam* of Vēla-kkāḍu, Kaṟpūlaippaṟāl, Śaṅkarārkāḍu, Maṇimūlaṅgāḍu which were set apart for the maintenance of the servants of Ayyappaṇ (Ārya or Śāsta).

The lands assigned for the troop serving during the festival of the Uṭtirāḍa are:— Puḍukkari, Iḷavariyārkari, Śiṟrōḍi, Kāvadiyār-puṟāy, Tallippaṟāl, Varagu-paraḷ.

The lands assigned for the maintenance of the drummers who sound during the *abhishēka* time in the temple (*nīrāṭṭuppalḷiḱku-kottigal*) are:— Itṭiyai-man, the *puraiyidam* belonging to Aṅgaiyārmaṇ, Sembuvēli, Naraṇṇattāṟai, Kannaṇ-kūḷi and Kalaṅgalvēli.

The lands meant for the support of the troop of drummers who serve during the festival of Tiruvōṇa are:—Idaikkari, Karumbu, Nāluvēli and Kuyakkuli.

Section 25: (ll. 622-630).

The lands and gardens in Mīnachai belonging to the temple of Tiruvallavāḷ-appaṇ are:—Kottakāra-palaṇṇi, Kōlakkudivalāl and Maḍattinṅkāl; Kōlāṇkudi; Pāmaṇṇaraikkāl; Maṇali; Śūttarai; Pādarikkālvēli; Kuḷakkīlchai; Peruṅgaḷlarai; Kaṇjūḷarai; Mūṇṇaittuḍavai; Maḍattadi-ttuḍavai; Nārraḍi; and Kōyilkkāḍu. The rent due from Mīnachai (*viz*) 96 *kalam* received twice a year. The rent due on Malaiyilkkīl is 96 *kalam* (received) twice a year. The rent due on pārāyaṇavirutti assigned in Mudupālaiyūr is 100 *paraḷai*. The paddy that is to be obtained from Vēḷlaiyūrṇāḍu is six *karrai* (of ears of corn, per unit of land?). 10 *tūṇi* from Mēlkkollūr. From the lands lying between Vēḷlaiyūrṇāḍu and Maṅgalakkāloḍu and the *karairkāḍu* adjoining them, is three *kalam*; The land belonging to Kuṇṇattūr in Palaiyaṇāḍu with the sowing capacity of 2 *kalam* and the *karai-puraiyidam* situated on the two sides of (The subsequent plates are lost.)

The following is a list of names of Persons
which occur in this document:—

No.	Name in Tamil.	Name in Romanised form.	Remark.
1	அதிகாரர்.	Adikārar, 506 ¹	
2	அமிர் தமங்கலத்தவன்	Amirdamaṅgalattavaṇ, 451	
3	அய்யப்பன்	Ayyappaṇ (god), 412, 415	
4	அறுநூற்றுவர்	Arunūruvar, 360	
5	ஆமந்தையூர்	Āmandaiyūr (god), 413	It is very curious that the name of a village is given to a god.
6	ஆலஞ்சேரி அடிகள்	Ālañjēri adigaḷ, 395-6	
7	ஆலஞ்சேரி வாது(சு)தேவன்.	Ālañjēri Vādu(su)dēvaṇ, 598	
8	இம்மூக்கால்வட்டத்தெழுந்தருளியிருக்கும் பழாரதிருவடிகள்	Bhaṭāra-tiruvāḍis, who are attached to this temple, 564	
9	இடைச்சேரிச்சேந்தன் கேசவன்	Śendaṇ Keśavaṇ of Idaichchēri, 404	
10	இளங்குன்றநாட்டு நங்கையார்	Naṅgaiyār of Ilaṅ-guṇṇa-nāḍu, 305	
11	இளங்குன்ற நாட்டு நம்பியார்	Nambiyār of Ilaṅ-guṇṇa-nāḍu, 305	
12	இரவி கிரிகண்டன்	Iraṇi Śiri-Kaṇḍaṇ, 476	
13	இயக்கி (பள்ளத்து)	Iyakki of Paḷḷam, 460	The name Isakki or Eśakki is now commonly met with in Tinnevely Dt. among low caste woman-folk.
14	உத்திராடக்கணம்	Uttirāḍa-gaṇam, 618	
15	கிடங்குபுரூல்ப் பொன்னியக்கநாயன்	Kidaṅgupaṇāl Ponnīy-akkanāyaṇ, 266, 67	
16	கிழானடிகள்	Kiḷāṇadigaḷ, 109	
17	கிழச்சேரித்தாயம் விக்கிரமன்	Tāyaṇ Vikkīramaṇ of Kiḷaichchēri, 577	
18	கீழுமலையுடைய கண்டங்குமரனாய மாளுவக்கோன்	Kaṇḍaṇ-Kumaraṇ alias Māluvaḱkōṇ of Kiḷu-malai, 352	This name occurs in an inscription belonging to the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkaṭṭirāṇam where

1 These numbers indicate the lines of the inscription in which the names occur.

No.	Name in Tamil	Name in Romanised form.	Remarks.
19	குளக்காட்டச்சியார்.	Achchi of Kuḷakkāḍu	also he makes certain gifts. It is stated that Kīḷumalaiyudaiyāṇ is a title peculiar to the Vaḍakkīṇ-kūru Rājas. The name <i>achchi</i> , commonly met with in modern Malayāḷam, is employed even as early as this document. It is apparently the feminine of <i>achchan</i> and corresponds to the Tamil <i>ammai</i> .
20	குரவன்	Kuravaṇ (god),	412 Perhaps the name of some apotheosised <i>guru</i> and his image.
21	குன்றமுடையார்	Kuṇṇamuḍaiyār,	97
22	குன்றத்தூர் கேய(ச)வ நாராயணன்	Kēya(sa)va-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kuṇṇattūr,	602-604
23	கோடிக்களத்து யக்கங் கோவிந்தன்	Yakkaṇ Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkalam,	359
24	கோமாகாட்டு நம்பியிராமன்	Nambiy-Irāmaṇ of Kō-mākāḍu,	137
25	கோமாகோட்டு நாயர்	The Nāyar of Kōmā-kōḍu,	162
26	கோயிற்புறத்து சேந்தன் குமரன்	Śendaṇ-Kumaraṇ of Kōyirpuṇam,	544
27	கோயிற்புறத்து நாயித்தியார்	The Nāyittiyār of Do.	148
28	கோவிந்தனச்சுதன்	Gōvindaṇ-Achchudaṇ,	552
29	சங்கரமங்கலத்து நடுவத்து வாது(ச)தேவன்	Vādu(su)dēvaṇ of the Naḍuvattu-illaṇ residing in Śaṅkaramaṅḡalam,	583-84
30	செண்பகவேலிச்சங்கரன்	Śaṅkaraṇ of Śeṇbaga-vēli,	585-86
31	செந்நித்தலை இராயசேகரன்	Irāyaśēkaraṇ of Senni-ttalai,	102
			Rājaśēkhara is also the name of an ancient king of Malai-nāḍu.

THE HUZUR OFFICE PLATES.

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No.	Name in Tamil	Name in Romanised form.	Remarks.
32	ஞாழற்பள்ளி நாராயணன் திரிசம்பகன்	Nārāyaṇaṁ Tirichamba- kaṇ of Nāḷarpalli, 558	The sub-committees, which supervised the festivals celebrated on particular <i>nakshatras</i> for the merit of certain persons or otherwise, went evidently by the name of the members of the <i>gaṇa</i> (assembly) of that <i>nakshatra</i> ; of <i>Tiruvādiraikkaṇam</i> , <i>Ti- rurūṇakkaṇam</i> &c.
33	திருத்துவாதயி(சு) கண த்தார்	The members of the Dvādaśi-gaṇa, 361, 532	
34	திருவல்லவாமுவச்ச இரா யர்க்கேசவன்	The drummer Irāyar- keśavaṇ of Tiruvalla- vāl, 121	
35	திருவல்லவாமுப்பன்	Tiruvallavāl-appaṇ(god) 200, 332, 350, 357, 403, 467, 531, 539, 568	Literally, the lord of the cowherds' quarters.
36	திருவாதிரைக்கணம்	The members of the Ārdra-gaṇa, 616	
37	திருவாயம்பாடியப்பன்	Tiruvāyambādiyaṇṇ (god Krishna), 261-62	
38	திருவோணக்கணம்	The members of the Sraṇa-gaṇa, 621	
39	துடந்தலைக்காலால் வாழு ந்தரணிவர்ம்மர்	Daraṇivarmar ruling at Tuḍandalaikkāl, 201-202	This refers to a queen but it is impossible to find out her name.
40	தேவர்பள்ளித்தாமோதி ரன்	Dāmōdiraṇ of Dēvar- palli, 591	
41	தேவியார்	Dēviyār, 88, 290, 324-5	
42	நங்கையார்	Naṅgaiyār, 252	
43	நம்பிராட்டியார்	Nambirāṭṭiyār, 75	
44	நம்புகாளியார்	Nambukāliyār, 151	
45	நயந்தொங்கப்பல்லவரை யர்	Nayantoṅgappallava- raiyaṇ, 41	
46	நாராயணமங்கலத்து அச் சுதன் சேதுப்பிரான்	Achchutaṇ-Setuppirāṇ of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalaṁ, 278	

No.	Name in Tamil.	Name in Romanised form.	Remarks.
47	நெடுவேலிச்சோமாயி(சி) யார்	Sōmayi(śi)yār of Neḍu- vēli, 195	
48	நெடுக்கேசவங்கண்டன்	Nēdi Kēṣavaṇ Kaṇḍan, 290-91	
49	பத்திரகாரணிகள்	Pattirakāraṇigal, 125, 228-9	
50	பள்ளத்துக்குன்றங்கோ விந்தன்	Kuṇṇaṇ Gōvindaṇ of Paḷlam, 461	Paḷlam has still got a Koyil-tambiran's house; it may be that the members of this house are the lineal descendants of this person.
51	பள்ளத்துக்குன்றனிரவி	Kuṇṇaṇ Iravi of Paḷlam, 440, 459	
52	பள்ளமுடையார்	Paḷlamudaiyār, 242	
53	பள்ளத்துப்பொன்றவி யார்	Ponṇaviyār of Paḷlam, 252	
54	பள்ளிவிருத்தி தாமோதி ரன் கோதை	Dāmōdiraṇ Kōḍai of Paḷlivirutti, 554	
55	பரமேஸ்வரமங்கலத்தவன்	Paramēśvaramaṅgala- ttavaṇ, 259	
56	புஞ்சைப்படகாரத்து நா ராயணன் இருடி.கேச வன்	Nārāyaṇaṇ Rishikēśavaṇ of Puṇjaippaḍagāram, 549	
57	புலிகை நம்பு நாரணன்	Nambu Nārāyaṇaṇ of Puligai, 515	
58	புறுகிழா.காடு வாழின்ற ஏறஞ்சங்கரன்	Ēraṇ Śaṅkaraṇ ruling over the Puṇākilāṇāḍu, 50	
59	புண்ணிச்சேரி இரஞ்ஞ(ண் ணிய)கற்(ர்ப்)பன்	Iraṇṇagarpaṇ (Hiranya- garbhaṇ) of Puṇṇai- chchēri, 594	
60	பூரக்கணத்தார்	The members of the gaṇa of Pūra-nakshatra, 573	
61	பெணங்காட்டு குமரன் சே ந்தன்	Kumaraṇ Śēndaṇ of Peṇaṅḡāḍu, 597	
62	பெருமார்	Perumāḷ, 69	This and the following refer to the then reign- ing sovereign of Malai- nāḍu; what his name is cannot be found out.

No.	Name in Tamil.	Name in Romanised form.	Remarks.
63	பெருமானடிகள்	Perumāṇaḍigal, 388	
64	பெருவயலூர் யக்கங்கோதை	Yakkaṇ Kōḍai of Peruvayalūr, 154	
65	போஞ்சிக்கரை ஐயன் கோதைவர்மன்	Aiyan Kōḍaivarman of Pōñṇikkarai, 547	
66	மகமுஞ்சேரி தேவன் விக்கிரமன்	Dēvaṇ Vikkīraṇ of Magalaṇjēri, 601	
67	மகிமுஞ்சேரி ரணஜிதம்பம் விக்கிரமன்	Iranyagarbam Vikkīraṇ of Magalaṇjēri, 176	
68	மருதஞ்சேரி நீலகண்டன்	Nilakaṇḍan of Maruḍaṇjēri, 462	
69	மற்றத்திலப் பரமேச்சுவரன் சோமன்	Paramēśvaraṇ Sōmaṇ of Maṇṇam, 562	
70	மற்றத்தில் வயிரவாவனன்	Vayiravāvaṇ of Maṇṇam, 587	
71	மனுகுலாதிச்சதேவர்	Maṇukulāḍichchēvar, 285, 302	
72	மாந்நாமங்கலத்து நெய்தற்சேரிச் சார்ங்கபாணி கேசவன் தாயன்	Śaṅgaṇapāṇi Kēśavaṇ Tāyaṇ of the Neydaṇchēri-illam residing in Mānnāmaṅgalam, 398	
73	மாளுவக்கோன்	Māluvaḱkōṇ, same as Kīlumaḷaiyudaiyaṇ Kaṇḍaṇ Kumaraṇ, 357	
74	மாவியக்கி	Māv-iyakki (goddess), 412	Just as in the present day, they were worshipping <i>yakshis</i> in their temples in ancient Malabar.
75	முஞ்சிநாட்டு இராமன் கோதைவர்மன்	Rāmaṇ Kōḍaivarman of Muñṇināḍu, 533	
76	முஞ்சிநாட்டைய இராமன் மாதேவி	Irāmaṇ Mādēvī of Muñṇināḍu, 537-38	
77	முஞ்சிநாட்டு இளங்கூறுடைய குன்றனிராமன்	Kuṇṇaṇ Rāmaṇ who is ruling the smaller half of Muñṇināḍu or who is the <i>yuvārāja</i> , 556-57	
78	முஞ்சிமாராயர்	Muñṇimārāyar, 542	
79	முத்துற்று முலைக்குமரடி	Mūḷaikkumaraḍi of Muttūru, 103-4	
80	முலையில நம்பு நாராயணன்	Mūḷaiyil Nambu Nārāyaṇaṇ, 106	

No.	Name in Tamil.	Name in Romanised form.	Remarks.
81	மூலையில் நாயித்தியார்	Mūlaiyil Nāyittiyār, 518	
82	மேற்சேரிச் சேந்தன்	Śendaṇ of Mērchēri, 590	
83	யக்கங் கோதை	Yakkaṇ Kōdai, 443	
84	வடைசேரி நீலகண்டன்	Nilakaṇḍaṇ Yakkaraṇaṇ	
	யக்கராவன்	of Vadaisēri, 520	
85	வராகப்பன்	Vārāhappaṇ (god), 262, 266	
86	வன்றைச்சேரி கோதை	Kōdai Iravi of Vaṇṇalai-	
	இரவி	chchēri, 555	
87	வாதமூலம் நாராயணன்	Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vadamū-	
		lam, 198	
88	விரியூர்க் கண்டனிரவி	Kaṇḍaṇ Iravi of Viri-	
		yūr, 320	
89	விரியூர் பொக்கண்டனார்	Pokkaṇḍaṇār of Viri-	
		yūr, 253	
90	விலக்கிவிமங்கலத்து கிருட்டன் தேவன்	Kiruttāṇ Dēvaṇ of Vila-	
		kkilimaṅgalam, 529, 605	
91	விலக்கிவிமங்கலத்து பட்டச் சோமாயி(சி)யார்	Bhaṭṭa Sōmāyi(sī)yar of do. 584-5	
92	விரசோழர்	Vīraśōḷar, 99	
93	வெண்பலநாட்டு பண்டாரியார்	Bhaṇḍāriyār of Venpala-	
		nāḍu, 566	
94	வெண்பொலிநாடு வாழ்கின்ற இரவி சிரிகண்டன்	Iravi Śrī Kaṇḍaṇ ruling over Venpolināḍu, 52, 331, 335, 342	
95	வெண்பொலிநாடுடைய இரவி சிரிகண்டன்		
96	வெண்பொலிநாட்டுத் தெக்கின்கூறு வாழ்ந்த குமரனியக்கன்		
		Kumaraṇ Iyakkaṇ who ruled over the southern portion of Venpolināḍu (The Rāja of Tekkiṇkūru), 345-6	
97	வேணாட்டடிகள்	Vēṇāṭṭadigal, 201-3	
98	வேழக்காட்டு நாராயணன் சேந்தன்	Nārāyaṇaṇ Śendaṇ of Vēḷakkāḍu, 315	

Names of villages and plots of land occuring in the document.

ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.	ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.
அகலவாய்ப்பறால்	145, 283	ஆலவேலி	80
அகலவாய்ப்பறால் மணலாடி	147	ஆண்டற்றம்	574
அகழத்துவளால்	234	ஆனையடி	486
அங்கையார்மண்	620	இஞ்சைத்துருத்தி	538
அஞ்சணச்சிறையும் புரையிட மும்	441	இடகரமணல்	81
அணுக்கன்வாழ்க்கை	293, 466	இடைகாட்டுரோடி	578
அமிர் தமங்கலம்	451	இடைக்கரி	621
அம்மாணையூர் த்துருத்தி	284	இடைக்கர் புறத்துடை	2
அயிரக்குன்றம்	165, 283	இடைச்சேரிக்கரி	132
அயோகமன்னூர்	169, 228,	இடைச்சேரி	367, 400,
	528		404
அய்யனாடு	578	இடைத்திட்டை	151
அய்யனாட்டிடைச்சேரி	590	இடைநாட்டு வரிசை	313
அய்யன் வேலி	618	இடையாடி	523
அரைஞ்ஞன்முதை	327	இடையிரவம்	98
அரையிறை உள்பகர்ச்சை	73	இடைவஞ்சி	232
அவராணிமங்கலம்	526	இட்டிமண்	591, 592
அள் லப் பயின்களம்	112	இட்டியைமண்	620
அறப்புறம்	609	இயாடி	67
அறுவாய்வளால்	507	இரவிரல்வூர்	599
ஆகாயமங்கலம்	259	இரவிரல்வூர் புரையிடம்	582
ஆஞ்சினி அறை	217	இரவு	304
ஆட்டேட்டிப்பறம்பு	486	இராமப்படுகம்	140
ஆதன் றுருத்தி	480	இருடியார்காடு	488
ஆதன் றுருத்தி பிடாரிகோயில்	46	இருபள்ளிப்புறை	323
ஆதன் றுருத்தில் வளாவில் கள ரோடி	108	இரை	120, 214,
ஆதன் றுருத்திவளால்	101, 193	இழிஞ்ஞினம்	569, 325
ஆத்திரயர் காடு	505	இழிஞ்சினத்து கடாவேலி	521
ஆமந்தையூர்	413	இழிஞ்சினத்து குட்டன்கரி	258
ஆரிகாட்டுவாழ்க்கை	296	இழிஞ்ஞினத்து சேறு	569
ஆலக்கால்புனம்	612	இளந்துருத்தி	186
ஆலஞ்சேரி	287, 395,	இளகைக்கூடு	258
	598	இளங்குன்றநாடு	305, 328
	505	இளந்துருத்திக்கரி	568
ஆலக்கால்ப்பாலம்	505	இளமண்	366
ஆலக்கால்ப்பாலத்தினருகே		இளவரியாய்கரி	618
வேழைக்காடு	505	இருப்புழை	164
		ஈசானமங்கலம்	485

ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.	ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.
நரை	136, 241	கரியோடி	95
நரைப்புரையிடம்	130	கரிவாழ்பகர்ச்சை	279
நழும்	250	கருந்தாழைமுதை	44, 611
உள்நாடரிடைக்காடு	546	கரும்பு	621
உள்நாட்டுத்தாறு	448	கரும்பாமடி	196
ஊசுற்றியார்காடு	600	கலங்கல்வேலி	621
ஊழ்பகர்ச்சை	231	கல்லூர்ப்புனம்	613
எட்டியார்முளங்கை	224	கல்வேலி	580
எண்ணைவாணியர் புரையிடம்		கவழ்ச்சை	572
த்திலூரகம்	593	கவளஞ்சேந்நனூர்கரி	77
எதிரேத்து வாழ்க்கை	142	களிறு	608
எருமைத்தானத்து வாழ்க்கை	240, 393	களளக்கரி	493
எலிப்புனம்	2	கற்புழை	442
எழுவீற்றுர்	452	கற்புழைக்கரி	126
எழுமுனை	584	கற்புழைப் பள்ளம்	235
எட்டன் சாத்தனார் கரி	79	கற்புழைப்பறல்	444, 616
ஏற்றுக்கண்ணையாரோடி	66	கன்றுநிலைக் குளங்கரை	582
ஏனாதிவாழ்க்கை	309	காக்கை இரவம்	541
ஒருபுறக்காடு	516	காக்கையூர்	557
ஒன்பதுவேலி	184	காக்கைவளாலருகே செறுவ	
ஓடநாடு	170	ளால்	215
கஞ்சுலறை	624	காஞ்சிக்கா	231
கடம்பன் சேந்நகுடி	256	காஞ்சிரக்கா	280
கடித்தானத்து கோணத்து		காஞ்சிரக்கோடு	254
கோளகம்	515	காஞ்சிரக்கோணத்து வாழ்	
கடைப்பனைங்காடு	499	க்கை	286
கண்டன்கரி	520	காஞ்சிரத்திலோடி	249
கண்டியனார் வீடு	72	காஞ்சிரப்படுவம்	498
கண்ணன்கரி	306, 610	காடந்தத்தனாரோடி	237
கண்ணன்காடு	203	காடன்புள்ளி	184
கண்ணன்குழி	620	காட்டுமண்ணின்மேலோடி	487
கண்ணன் சேந்நன் கரிதறை	271	சாட்டுமேல்	467
கண்ணாடு	507, 512,	காட்டுருடையாரோடி	261
	577	காட்டூர் தெங்கமண்	365
கண்ணையாழிவம்	553	காட்டூர் வயலில்முண்டகம்	399
கமுகன்புறையாற்று வாழ்க்கை	508	காபாலிகமங்கலம்	144, 205,
கமுகுடையான் வேலி	610		213, 311,
கயிலாயம்	586, 591		324, 595
கயின்றோடி	302	காமக்காள்பள்ளி	185
கரியனாட்டு தெங்கமண்	367	காரணிகாடர் புரையிடம்	445

ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.	ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.
காரைக்காலிளக்கைதைக்காடு	314, 315	குறக்கோட்டு வஞ்சிடம் எட்டம்	
காரைக்கால்	439	யார் முளக்குமணாறு	63
காவதியார்புறம்	619	குறண்டியோடி	588
கிடங்குழி	177	குறிச்சி	367
கிடங்குழி	68	குறிச்சுலித்தானம்	128
கிடங்குபுறல்	115, 236,	குறியில்முட்டம்	580
	266	குறுமாப்பள்ளம்	612
கிழவன் தாயனாரோடி	230	குறுமாப்பள்ளிக்கல்	130
கிளிமானூர்	525	குற்றார்	489
கிழச்சேரி	173, 576	குன்றக்காட்டுப் புரையிடம்	157
கிழச்சேரிவளால்	192	குன்றங்கரி	70
கிழப்புனம்	71	குன்றத்தூர்	602
கிழாஞ்ஞினி	104	குன்றத்தூர்வளால்	74, 406
கிழமலை(புடைய கண்டன் கும ரன்)	357	கபசத்துப் புரையிடம்	416
கிழமீனி	263	கைதைக்காடு	504
கிழவெள்ளூர்	165	கைதைப்பறல்	113, 226.
குடஞர்	331, 336,		326, 347.
	470, 479	கைதைவேலிவாழ்க்கை	447
குட்டங் கடுங்கோனூர்கரி	76	கோடியனார்புறம்	275
குண்டியூரோடி	108	கோட்டகாரப்பழஞ்சி	1
குண்டையிறு	81	கோழுமினங்கல்	623
குமாள்கரியும் கரைப்புரையிட மும்	486	கொற்றங்கண்ணனாரோடி	233
குமான்படுவம்	514	கோக்கோகரி	447
குமாண்வேலி	2	கோடிக்களம்	47
கும்பனூர்கரி	230	கோட்டுதலை	359
குயக்கழி	622	கோட்டுநர் புரையிடம்	525
குருக்கணத்தார்மற்றம்	581	கோட்டுநர் புரையிடம்	530
குருக்குலையூர் மாங்கோடு	484	கோதைக்கரி	501
குழிக்கரி	180	கோதைகண்ணூர்காடு	512
குழிக்காடு	538	கோதைகண்ணூர்காடு	
குழியோடி	115, 139,	கோதை கோவிந்தனார் புரையி டம்	444
	175	கோதை சேந்நனூர்காடு	46
குளக்காடு	276, 576,	கோதைமங்கலம்	559
	598	கோமாகாடு	137
குளக்காட்டுதறை	589	கோமாகோடு	162
குளக்கிழச்சை	624	கோயில்க்கரி	39, 84,
குளப்பள்ளிவளால்	498		274, 570
குறக்கோட்டு வஞ்சி	223	கோயில்க்காடு	625
		கோயில்மற்றம்	84
		கோயிற்புறம்	148, 544

ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.	ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.
கோயிற்புறத்து புரையிடம்	593	சீர்விடு	485
கோயிற்புறத்து போரலாகி		சூட்டறை	624
ன்ற புரையிடம்	492	சூரல்பாடிவாழ்க்கை	298
கோரகை	514	சூரல்முதை	575
கோலஞ்சேரி	187	செகிடன் பரம்பு	272
கோலாங்குடி	623	செங்கரை	91,122
கோளகம்	111	செண்பகச்சேரி புரையிடம்	463
கோளகக்குடிவளால்	623	செண்பகவேலி	586
சங்கரமங்கலம்	3, 207, 479, 583	சேந்நனூர்கரி வாழ்பகர்ச்சை	280
சங்கரர்காடு	617	சேந்நன்கரி	291, 464
சட்டான்பள்ளி	194	செந்நித்தலை நெட்டோடியுந்	
சந்தனப்புறம்	204	தேவர்வேலியும்	518
செம்பககோட்டம்	490	செம்பின் கீழோடி	149
சாத்தன் காமன்வேலி	231, 273	செம்பின் துருத்தி	234
சாத்திக்கரி	115	செம்பின் வேலி	296
சாலப்புழை கோவிந்நனூர்		செம்புவேலி	620
புரையிடம்	456	செருவல்	72
சாலையார்குழி	490	செல்லாரோடி	141
சிரிராமன்பள்ளி	188	செறியபுனம்	615
சிரையகத்துவளால்	561	செறுகடைத்துருத்தி	155
சிறியகடாய்	260	செறுமண்கரை	200
சிறுகடுப்பு	547	சென்னித்தலை	57
சிறுகடைத்துருத்தி	154	சென்னித்தலை இதரத்தாறு	55
சிறுகடைத்துருத்திக் கூனன்		சென்னித்தலை சிறுகரும்பு	59
வாழ்க்கை	465	சென்னித்தலை நாகமங்கலம்	56
சிறுகடைத்துருத்தி படைநா		சென்னெற்றுருத்தி	367
யர் மாடத்தாஞ்ஞினி	465	செந்நிங்கமங்கலம்	595
சிறுகண்ணார்குழி	67, 177	சேரி உடையார்காடு	496
சிறுகல்வேலி	503	சேரைகரி	179
சிறுகழுப்பு	255, 256	சேலை	508
சிறுகோலமற்றம்	507	சையத்தியன் வேலி	265
சிறுநிலம்பரூல்	103	சாதிமங்கலம்	187
சிறுமண்புரையிடம்	449	ஞாழற்ப்பள்ளி	558
சிறுமுதை, மற்றமுண்டகம்		ஞாறலுர்க்கால்	202
ஆதன் றுருத்திவளால்	506	ஞாறல்க்காடு	229
சிறைக்கரைப் புரையிடம்	562	ஞெளிங்காட்டு பொக்கண்டார்	197
சிற்றேடி	131, 187, 238, 463, 618	புரையிடம்	
		ஞெளிங்காட்டு பொக்கண்ட	397
		னூர் புரையிடம்	440
		ஞெளிங்காட்டு வலியவேலி	461
		ஞெளிங்காட்டு புரையிடம்	

ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.	ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.
தச்சறை	212	தேவர்பள்ளி	364, 400.
தட்டம்பாறைவாழ்க்கை	297, 467		591
தட்டழிப்புறம்	610	தேவியார்நடை	207, 214.
தத்தையார்தறை	613		303, 310.
தலைமனைவாழ்க்கை	118		311
தலையாற்று புஞ்சைவயல்	600	தொம்பூர்க்கரி	160
தலையோடி	109, 235	தோடு	608
தழைமுதையில் குழிவேலி	281	தோட்டோடு	96
தள்ளிப்பறால்	619	தோட்டோடு தோட்டிடை	245
தாமரைக்குளம்	364	தோமணல்	44
தாமரைநல்லூர்க்கரி	445	நங்கையார்வளால்	233
தாமற்றநாட்டு குறுவேலி	484	நடுவம்	583
தாயங்குன்றப் போழன் வாழ் க்கை	152, 243	நரங்கத்தறை	620
தாழங்கால்	583	நரசிங்கமங்கலம்	586
தாழபற்றின்வாழ்க்கை	294	நன்புரை	586
தாயங்குன்றப் போழன் வாழ் க்கை	322	நாகமங்கலம்	488
தாறன்பறால்	462	நாகனூர்புனம்	45
திலதமங்கலம்	396	நாயித்திக்கரி	513
திருச்சேர்ப்பத்தோடி	510	நாராயணமங்கலம்	278, 367
திருநிலார்க்கரி	112	நாலுவேலி	184, 622
திருப்பெருந்துறை பதளமாயி	219	நாலுவாவழிபனைமண்	498
திருவல்லவாழ்	200, 403,	நாற்றடி	625
	467, 531,	நீறணத்துக் கடம்பன்கரி	495
	539, 543,	நீறணம்	495
	552, 562,	நெடிய இடைத்திட்டை வாழ் க்கை	307
	565, 622	நெடியான் வாழ்க்கை	158
திருவாயம்பாடிச் சிறிய ஆல்	615	நெடுங்கண் துருத்தி	37
க்கால்புனம்	201	நெடுங்காலிநாடு	225
துடந்தலைக்கால்	610	நெடுங்காலிநாட்டுக் காஞ்சிரக் காடு	484
தும்பைமணல்	500	நெடுந்தாறு	399
துருத்திக்களப் புரையிடம்	497	நெடுமற்றம்	314
துருத்தியில் நெட்டாழி	510, 511	நெடும்பலாநாடு	355
துழத்துறைத் தேவரோடி	500	நெடுவேலி	195, 365
துழத்துறை—ஏரிமண்	599	நெட்டோடியும் பட்டர்வேலி யும்	58
துடியாடி	485	நென்மலி	509
தெக்கானத்து முடாலம்	481	நென்மலிஇறை	509
தெக்கினற்றின்வழி கோவிந்த னூர்க்கரி	67	நென்மலிக்கரி	115, 138
தெங்கவேலி	110	படிஞாயிற்று சேரைகரி	179
தென்குலி			

ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.	ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.
பட்டரோடி	185	பாலைவேலி	613
பட்டர் வாழ்க்கை	90	பாலைக்காடாகின்ற சேரிக்கல்	168
பணிச்சவிருத்தி	88, 276, 307, 557, 571	பாலைக்காலோடி	157
	259	பாலைத்தானத்துக்கரி	248
பாமேஸ்வரங்கலம்	576	பாலைப்பழஞ்சியாரோடி	492
பருத்திக்காடு	174	பாற்றூர் வாழ்க்கை	298
பருத்திக்காட்டு முள்மனை	133	பிள்ளன்படுவம்	248
பருத்திக்கோணம்	483	புஞ்சைப்படகாரம்	368, 549
பருவைத்திட்டையாற்று வழி	82	புதுக்கரி	277, 314, 618
புதுக்கரி	180	புதுவரிசை	247
பலாப்பள்ளி	442	புபாயோடி	187
பலாவினாலோடி	216	புலிகை	515
பழவிருக்கைப் புரையிடம்	216	புலிக்கூட்டு வயல்	264
பழைபநாடு	630	புலிக்கோனூர்	203
பழைநாட்டு தாமரைச்சேரி	242, 250, 252, 322, 440, 450, 461, 594, 596	புலையன்முலாத	507
பள்ளம்	526	புல்லித்தாறு	220
பள்ளிப்புறத்து தேவர் துடவை	525	புழைக்கரைமற்றம்	585
பள்ளிப்புறம்	277	புளியனூர்	162
பள்ளியார்கரி	151	புளியேலிப்புனம்	497, 98
பள்ளிவளாகம்	504	புறங்கோலிநாட்டு அடுக்கண்டல் கரி	491
பள்ளோவேலி	527	புறத்தாறு	614
பள்ளோப்பள்ளி கோட்டறை	553, 554	புருகிழானூர்	150
பள்ளிவிருத்தி	525	புனலிமுறை	45
பறப்பு	368	புன்னைக்குளம்	490
பறம்பூர்	614	புன்னைக்குன்றத்துக்கல் வேலி	503
பறல்க்கீழோடி	299	புன்னைக்குன்றத்து மாந்நன்கரி	448, 449
பறைப்பள்ளிவாழ்க்கை	249	புன்னைச்சேரி	365, 594
பறையன்புறம்	611	புன்னைவேலி	501
பறையன்வளால்	143	பூதிக்கோடு	577
பனைம்பறால்	72	பூதூரி	282
பனையர்முதுகை	501	பூந்தோட்டம்	487, 491
பாச்சினப்பாய்	244	பூப்படுவத்தோடி	504
பாட்டக்கரி	624	பூரக்கணத்தாரோடி	573
பாதரிக்கால்	623, 624	பெணங்காடு	597
பாலமண்ணறைக்கால்		பெண்டார்	100
		பெருகூரம்	542
		பெருங்கல்லறை	624
		பெருங்கல்வேலி	503
		பெருங்கோளம்	366

ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.	ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.
பெருந்தோட்டம்	61	மருதஞ்சேரி	129, 178.
பெருந்நெய்தல் இரும்பூழி வாழ்க்கை	190	மருதஞ்சேரிவாழ்க்கை	462
பெருமாபெலிக்கரி	308	மருத்துவக்குடா	178
பெருமாள் நடை	206, 321	மலையில்லக்கீழ்	171
பெரும்பாந்துருத்திக்கரி	286	மற்றத்தில் வயிர்வாவனன் டொயிடம்	626
பெரும்பான்றுருத்திகரி	69	மற்றம்	587
பெரும்பான்றுருத்தி	321	மணியர்கருப்பு	362
பெருவயலூர்	154	மாஞ்சனபடுவம்	197
பெருவூர்	246	மாட்டன்	508
பொதுவத்துக்கரி	135	மாணிக்கமங்கலத்துவனுடை	83, 366.
பொதுவாளப்பேறு	167	நென்மலி	392, 513
பொத்தங்கனூர்கரி	573	மாணிக்கமங்கலம்	511
பொத்தங்குமானூர்கரி	77	மாந்நாமங்கலத்து கட்டப்பன்கரி	42, 365
பொற்கணபதியார் வாழ்க்கைக் காராணசூறு	85	மாந்நாமங்கலத்து நெய்தற்சேரி	61
போஞ்ஞிக்கரை	547	மாந்நாமங்கலத்து மலையில் புரையிடம்	398
போத்தங்குமானூர்கரி	279	மாந்நாமங்கலத்து வட்டச்சிறை	453, 454
பேசுத்தனைங்கல்	575	மாபலியார் தோட்டம்	221
மகழஞ்சேரி	364, 366,	மாமுளங்கு	491
மகளர்நிலைக்காலோடி	601	மாவகை தாயன்குன்றப் போழ்ன் வாழ்க்கை	175
மகிழஞ்சேரி	185	மிளாமுடக்கு	251
மக்குதிட்டை	176	மிளாவினாரோடி	118
மங்கலக்காலோடி	480	மிளாவினாலோடி	237
மங்கலச்சேரி	629	மிளாவினால் கரிதறை	134
மங்கலப்படுவம்	365	மீய்குன்றத்துதெங்கமன்	510
மடத்தடித்துடவை	94, 589	மீனச்சை	364
மடத்தின்கால்	625	முஞ்ஞிராடு	622, 625
மணலி	623	முஞ்ஞிராட்டில் திருவோணக் கரி	405, 433,
மணலுடையான்கரி	624	முஞ்சிப்பாறை	537, 556
மணலூரோடி	94, 401	முடக்கலிடை	405
மணற்றுறு	550	முட்டாறு	456
மணிமுழாங்காடு	223	முட்டாறு (வெண்பொலிகாட்டு)	218
மணியிருக்கும்புரையிடம்	617	முட்டாற்றில் கொற்றன்கரி	52
மண்டபத்துப்புரையிடம்	480	முட்டாற்றின் மேல்வங்கம்	348
மண்டபமாகின்ற புரையிடம்	581		224
மண்டிலக்களம்	502		227
மண்ணின்சேரிப் புரையிடம்	579		
மண்ணின்சேரிப் புரையிடம்	263		
மண்ணின்சேரிப் புரையிடம்	494		
மண்ணின்சேரிப் புரையிடம்	65		
மண்ணின்சேரிப் புரையிடம்	480		
மயிலனோடி			

ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.	ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.
முண்டைப்பள்ளி	364, 367	வாழைப்பள்ளி இராயிங்கத்தா	
முதுபாழையூர்	627	ன்வேலி	482
முத்தாறு	103	வாழைப்பள்ளிப்பொட்டை	139
முத்துற்றுத்துப்படுவம்	519	வாளகம்	100
முரிப்பினிலோடி	135	விரியூர்	253, 317,
முனைப்புழைமண்	308		319, 320
முனைமீன புரையிடம்	592	விருப்புவாழ்க்கை	298
முந்நைத்துடை	625	விலக்கிவிமங்கலத்து வாழ்க்கை	118
முலோர் படுவத்துவாறங்காடர்		விலக்கிவிமங்கலம்	63, 222,
புரையிடம்	455		529, 554,
முலோர்படுவம்	247		584, 605
முழிக்களம்	390	வெட்டித்துருத்தி ஈரை	402
மேட்டோடி	141, 180	வெணங்கைத்துமணல்	189
மேலோடி	249, 264,	வெண்ணத்தண்டம்	309
	266	வெண்பாலை	392
மேற்சேரி	590	வெண்பாலையையில் நங்கையார்	
மேனிலம்	503	வாளால்	123
மொகிலி	112	வெண்பாலையையில் புன்னைமற்	
யக்கன்கரி	181	றம்	194
வகைவருத்தி	545	வெண்பாலையையில் வடைசேரி	
வஞ்சிக்கால்	587, 607	ப்புறாய்	524
வஞ்சிமண் வடசேரி ஓடி	181	வெண்பாலை வயலிளவாணைழு	
வடசேரிஓடி படிஞாயிற்றேடி	184	க்கம்	522
வடசேரி ஓடிவளநல்லூர்	182	வெண்பொலிநாடு	51, 331
வடசேரிக்கரி	182	வெண்பொலிநாட்டு தெற்கின்	
வடசேரிக்கரியில் பள்ளிக்காடி	183	ஈறு	345, 347
வடசேரியோடி	115	வெண்மணல்	203
வடதலைத்துருத்தி	306	வெளியனூர் காடு	404
வடதலை வாழ்க்கை	543	வெள்ளிமுதகைவேலி	68
வடைசேரி	520	வெள்ளையூர் நாடு	628
வட்டக்கரி	92	வெள்ளையூர் நாட்டோடி	629
வரகுபுரல்	619	வேண்டு	200
வலியகடாய்	257	வேண்டுக்கோதைகுளங்கங்க	
வல்லமண்	260	ரை மணிக்கலாட	210
வல்லம்	250	வேழக்காடு	241, 265,
வளவனாரோடி	93, 400		315, 616
வளாகத்தாரோடி	440, 459	வேழங்கை அகலப்படுவம்	303
வளைக்கச்சி வாழ்க்கை	301	வேழநிலை	546
வளைக்காணி வாழ்க்கை	194	வேழமுனங்கு	116, 273
வன்றலைசேரி	555	வேழங்கை இளங்கோக் கூறு	99
வாகைத்தானம்	172	வேணூர்க்காபாஸ்ச்சுவரம்	208
வாதழலம்	198	வேணூர்க் கிழமங்கலம்	209
வாய்ப்பாட்டுக்காடு	550	வைகுந்தபுரம்	580
வாவனபுரம்	385		

Text.¹

Second Plate: First Side.

1. கு பாட்டெல் எழுபத்தைம்பறை: கொடியனுட்டி ழங்கு தொண்ணாம்பறை: இடைக்க-
2. ரிபுறந்துடை நாற்பதுபறை: குமான்வெலிக்கு பாட்டெல் பூப்பகைபறை: எலி-
3. ப்புனத்தினு பாட்டெல் லெழுபத்தைம்பறை: தன்னொடையில் கங்கபக்கலத்-
4. தினு கொள்ளுந் தெல் நூற்றிருபத்தைம்பறை: காவினுல்க்கரி இதிலுபாயத்தூக்கு: கூ-
5. ட்டுமுதல்க்கொழிஞ்ஹ: இவிற்றினு பாட்டத்தில் புறமாராபொன்றி: இதி-
6. னால் பந்திரடிக்கு செல்லுஞ்செலவு திருவமிந்து பந்திருநாழி அரி: ஹ-
7. ரு நந்தாவினக்கு: நெய்யமிந்து நாராபத்தாஅழக்கு: திருச்சர்க்கை முக்கழைஞ்ஹ: தி-
8. ருப்புனைக்கு சந்தன[ம்*] ஒருகாணம்: மாலு கிழக்கின்றி நுவடிக்கொன்று: படிஞ்-
9. ஞாயிற்று திருவடிக்கரை: சாத்திரர்க்கு ஒருக்கொல் நொம் ஒன்பது நெண(வி)-

Second Plate: Second Side.

10. விடை குறையாதெ ஒரு வெளுத்த மாலு: திருவமிந்து கிழக்கின்றிருவடிக்க-
11. கு இருநாழி உரி யரி: படிஞாயிற்று திருவடிக்கு இருநாழி உரி: அ-
12. நகதெவதைக்கு உரி: விஷ்ணுவந் உழக்கு வெவ்வுடிவதிந் உழக்கு கொள்-
13. க: கிழக்கின்றிருவடிக்கு திருவமிந்து செய்வது நிரலிடுவிது: மிக்க-
14. து திருக்கோயிலுடையார் கொள்வது: மற்றைப்பாதிபு மூவர் சாத்திரமிந்துசெய்-
15. விது: கிழக்கு திருப்புகை காட்டியவாறெ சாத்திரர்க்கு பூவுஞ்சந்தனமுடபுகை-
16. யும் விளக்கும் கொடுப்பிது: ஒன்றரைத் தெங்நாயும் ஒன்பதின் கழைநுபுளியும் உ-
17. முக்குழக்குப்பும் சாத்திரர்க்கு: இத்திருவாராதனை அஞ்ச நாழியைக்கு¹ துடங்நி மூ-
18. ன்று நாழியையின்² முன்னெ ஒடுக்குவிது: நிராட்டுள்ளி பந்திருகுடந் நிர்கொண்டு நி-

¹ From the originals and from the excellent impressions prepared under my supervision.

² Read நாழிகை.

Third Plate: First Side.

19. ராட்டுபள்ளி ஆவிது: இத்திருவாராதனைக்கு காலம்பிழைக்கில் சாந்தியடி-
கள் குறவா-
20. கில் தண்டம்படுவிது பந்திருநாழி யரி: சாந்தியடிகள் படுமது பழாரர்
திரு-
21. வடி. கொள்வது: கிழ்ச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவர்[க*]ளு மத்தண்டமெ தண்டம்;
திருக்கொயிலுடை-
22. யார் தண்டம்படுமது சாந்தி அடிகள் கொள்வது: நிராட்டுபள்ளிக்கு
கொட்டுமவ[ர்*]கள் பதி-
23. னாறினுமெல் புக்கொரலகு கச்சையீட்டு ஐவர் கொட்டுவிது: ஒழியுமவன்
ஒரொத்த-
24. ர் காலக்காணம் பொன்தண்டம்: கிழ்ச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவ[ர்*]கள் கொள்-
விது இரண்டாநாளுமத்-
25. திருவாராதனை செய்யாதெ இப்பொழுது கழிகில் இரட்டி தண்டம்படு-
வது: சமஞ்சி-
26. த நிச்செலவு கண்டு செலுத்துவிது இன்றியெ இருக்கில் சாந்தியடிகள்
27. கண்டு செலுத்துவிது இத்திருவமிர்து அகத்தருதாகில் மண்டபத்தில் ம-

Third Plate: Second Side.

28. ண்டபத்தி லருதாகில்த் தொலியடலைக் குறவுதிர்ந்து செலுத்துவிது:
ஊராளர்
29. இச்செலவு குறவுசொல்லி விலக்கப்பெறார்: விலக்குமவன் தந்தையைக்
கொண்-
30. று தள்ளையைக் களத்திரம் வைச்சாராவிது: ஆவனுபா ஆ¹பரையுமவனவ
ரைக்கணக்கெ: ஆ-
31. வர் பூமியும் புரையிடமும் ஊர்கடிச் சாட்டி க்கொண்டு திருவல்லவாழப்-
32. பனு செலவினு கொள்க: சாந்தியடிகள் குரு இடங்கழியா விருநூற்று
நாழி: கி-
33. ழ்ச்சாந்திக் கிருநூற்று நாழி: மாலைக்கு பதினெண் பறையரை: கொட்டி-
களக்கு பதினா-
34. ழியால் நூறு பறை: இச்செலவினொள்ள பூமி கா ராண்மைச்செய்து
செலுத்தும-
35. வ[ர்*]கள் ஒரு நாள் முட்டுகில் முட்டி ரட்டி செலுத்துவிது: மூன்றுநாள்
முட்டுகி-
36. ளு மித்தண்டமெ தண்டம்: பத்துநாளாடுத்து முட்டுகி, ளு முட்டி ரட்டியும்
பட-

1 The second ஆ may be read as ஈ; there is very little difference between the two letters.

Eighth Plate: First Side.

55. ளமைச்ச திருவிளக்கினு பூமி சென்னித்தலை இதரத்தாற்றுலொன்று:
பாட்டநெல்லெண்-
56. னுழியால் நூற்றையம்பது: சென்னித்தலை நாகமங்கலத்தால்ச் செல்லுந்
திருவிள-
57. க்கொன்றினு பாட்டநெல் லெண்ணுழியால் நூற்றையம்பது: சென்னித்-
தலையிற் றிரு-
58. விளக்கினு நெட்டொடியும் பட்டர்வெலியுங் குடத்துகையுமாய் ஒன்றி-
னு பா-
59. ட்டநெல் லெண்ணுழியால் நூற்றையம்பது: சென்னித்தலை சிறுகரும்பு
மதின-
60. டுத்த புரையிடத்தாலுஞ் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்று பாட்டநெல் நூற்-
றைம்பது: மா-
61. ந்நாமங்ஙலத்து கடம்மன்கரியாலு மிதினுபாயத்துக்கு: பெருந்தொட்ட-
ப்புற-
62. த்தாற் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றை-
ம்பது பறை: வில-
63. க்கிலிமங்ஙல மமைச்ச திருவிளக்கினுள்ள பூமியாவொ குறக்கொட்டு
வஞ்-

Eighth Plate: Second Side.

64. சியு மெட்டியார் முளங்கும் மணற்றுமாய் ஒன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்ட-
நெல் நூற்றைம்-
65. பது பறை: மண்ணின்றொட்டுவழி பழங்கரியால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்-
கொன்றி-
66. னு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை: ஏறங்கண்ணையாரொடி-
யில் மெல்லொடி நெ-
67. ல் திருவிளக்கினுள்ளொ¹: இயாடியுஞ் சிறுக்கண்ணார்குழியு மருவியுந்
தெங்ங-
68. வெலியுங் கிடங்குழியும் வெள்ளிமுதுகைவெலியுமாய்ச் செல்லு-
69. ந் திருவிளக்கிரண்டு பாட்டநெல் முந்நாறு: பெருமான் அமைச்ச
பெரும்பான்²-
70. துருத்திக்கரியால் செ[ல்*]லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளுந் நெல்
நூற்றைம்பது பறை: கி-
71. த்ப்புனத்தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளுந் நெல்
நூற்றைம்பது பறை: செ-
72. ருவலும் பணையர்முங்கையுங் கண்டியனார் விடுமாய்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிள-
க்கொன்றி-

1 The letter *nu* is engraved below the line.

2 The passage, beginning with பெருமான் and ending with பெரும்பான், is engraved upon an erasure.

37. வாயிரக்கலழும் திருவக்கிரத்தினு ளுன் றென்ற பெயர் - புறநாற் று
ண்துருத்தி
38. இறை இதிலுபாயத்துக்கு: ஷீ! அக்ஷரமொட்டனம்: பூம்: மஹி: கி:
ரசாலைப்-
39. புனம்: ஷீ கோயில்க்கரி ஆறுயிரக்கலத்தானும் அஞ்சி எல்லா பெயர்களை:
டி கொண்டு இ-
40. ருபத்தைஞ்சு பிராமண சிறுவியன்னவ மந்திரோத்தது: ஷீ தெல்-
ட்டி-
41. லக்கிரத்தினுள்ள ஸ்மி நயந்தொங்கப்பல்லவரைப ருதின்ற யிக்பு:
42. பந்திருகலத்தினும் கொள்ளுந் நெல் பதினாழியால் பாடி பனை: ஷீ
மாணிக்கமங்-
43. நலத்து விக்கிரமநாராயணன் திருவக்கிரத்தி னமைச்ச ஸ்ம் திருடயார்:-
44. காடு பதின்கலம்: ஷீ தொமணலில்க் சுருந்தாவழமுதைதும்: கழஞ்சி-
ன்கூட்டு-
45. முதலில்: புனவிழுதையும்: நாகனாற்புனமும்: புளையிடழர் திருவக்கிர-
த்தினு

46. : ஸ்ரீ ஆதன்துருத்தி பிழாரிகொயில்க்கு வடகிழக்கு கொதைசெந்நனூர்கா-
டு நூற்று-
47. க்கலம் ஒருகலம் திருவக்கிரத்தினு: ஸ்ரீ கொச்சாகரியில் பந்திருகலமும்:
வட்டி-
48. கரியி லெழுபத்தைம்பறையுங் கூட திருவக்கிரம் ஒருகலம்: ஸ்ரீ கன்னியில்
49. வியாழம் நின்ற தனுஞாயிறுபற்றிய சங்கிராந்திராள் திருவல்லவாழப்ப-
50. ன் பிரதிமுகத்து யாகமண்டபத்தில் வச்ச ஊரார் திருவடிமா ரவிரோ-
தத்-
51. தால்க் கூடி இருந்நருளியடத்துவச்ச வெண்பொலிநாடு வாழ்கின்ற இ-
ரவி-
52. சிரிகண்டன் தன்னுடைய முட்டாருகின்ற பூமி மூவாயிரத்தைஞ்ஞாற்று-
க்கல நில-
53. மு மாவறக்கொண்டு முதல்மைய ஆட்டிக்கொடுத்தா னிரவி சிரிகண்டன்
தந்ததி-
54. ப்பிரகிருதியாய் காராண்மைச்செய்து நின்று இடங்கழியால் பதினாழிக்-

1 ஸ் here and throughout the document stands for ஸ்.

Nineth Plate: First Side.

73. னு ஆரையிறை உள்பகர்ச்சை பந்திருதூணிகூடக் கொள்ளும் பாட்ட-
நெல் நூற்றைம்பது
74. பறை: குன்றத்தூர்வளாலு மெட்டொன் றுமாய் நூறு பறை நெடும்பது-
த்திறை ஐம்பது-
75. ங்கூட நம்பிராட்டியா ரமைச்சி தொரு திருவிளக்கினு: குன்றங்கரியப்
குட்ட-
76. ங்கடுங்கொனூர்கரியுமாய் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளுந் நெல் நூ-
ற்றைம்பது பறை:
77. பொத்தங்குமாணூர்கரியும் கவளஞ்செந்நனூர்கரி வாழ் பகர்ச்சையுமாய்
திருவிள-
78. க்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் பதினாழியால் நூற்றிருபத்தைப்
பறை: ஆலைவெலி-
79. யுந்துண்டமுஞ் செந்நஞ்செந்நனூர்கரி வாழ்பகர்ச்சையும் மெட்டஞ்சா-
த்தனூர்¹ கரியுமாய்-
80. த் திருவிளக்கிரண்டினு லொன்று லைவெலி விளக்கு நூற்றைம்பது பறை-
ச்சை நெல் ஓ-
81. ரொவிளக்கினு: குண்டையி²ராற்றாலு மிடகரமணலாலுந் செல்லுந்
திருவிளக்கினு ஒன்-

Nineth Plate: Second Side.

82. தினுங் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை: பலாப்பள்ளி விளக்-
கொன்றினுங் கொ-
83. ள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: மாடமண் டிருவிளக்கிரண்டு
நெல் முந் நூறு பறை
84. : கோயில்மற்றத்தாற் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கரை நெல்லெழுபத்தைம்ப-
றை: கோயில்க்க-
85. ரிப் பொற்கணபதியார்வாழ்க்கைக் காராணகூற்றால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிள-
க்கொன்றினு
86. கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: பொன்பொலி இருபத்தை-
ஞ்சு: கோயில்-
87. க்கரி வடக்கின்கரியில்க் காராணகூற்றால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றி-
னு கொள்-
88. ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை: தெவியா ரமைச்ச பணிச்சயிரு-
த்தியால்ச்
89. செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கிரண்டரைக்கும் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் முந் நூற்-
றெழுபத்-
90. தைம்பறை: பட்டர்வாழ்க்கை அஞ்ஞாற்றுக்கலத்தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவி-
ளக்கொன்றி-

1 The letter ற is engraved afterwards.

2 The letter யி is engraved below-the line.

Tenth Plate: First Side.

91. னு ஆஞ்சிரண்டு மெலொடி நெலக்கொள்விது: செங்கரையால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்-
92. கொன்றினுங் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் இருநுற்றிருபத்தைம்பறை: வட்டக்கரியால்ச் செல்-
93. னுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை: வளவனொரொடியும்
94. மணலுடையான்கரியு மங்ஙலப்படுவத்தா(ல்)லுஞ் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கி-
னு
95. தொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் லுதுதுது பறை: கரியொடியால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்-
96. றினுங் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை: தொட்டொடு தொட்டிடையால்ச் செல்-
97. னுந் திருவிளக்கிரண்டினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் முந் நூறுபறை: குன்ற-
முடையார்-
98. மைச்ச இடையிரவத்தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும்
பட்டநெல் நூ-
99. ற்றைம்பது பறை: விரசொழ ரமைச்ச திருவிளக்கொன்றினு பூமி
வெழங்கை இளநொ-

Tenth Plate: Second Side.

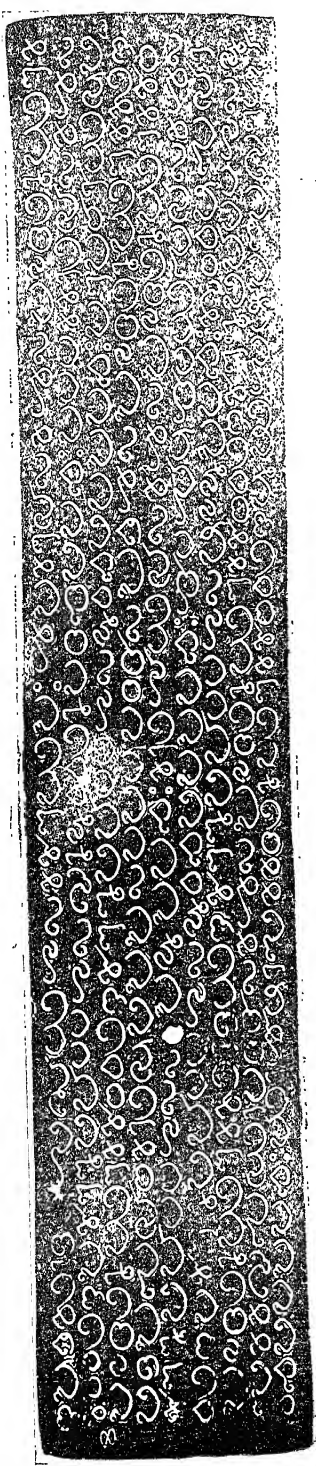
100. க்குது: வாளகமும் பெண்டாளுங்குடத் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு¹க் கொள்
ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றை-
101. ம்பதுபறை: ஆதன் அருத்திவளாலால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு
கொள்ளும் பாட்ட-
102. நெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: சென்னித்தலை ஆடிக ளிராயசெக்கர னமைச்ச
திருவிளக்கொ-
103. ன்றினும் பூமி சிறுநிலம்பாறலால்க் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூறுபறை:
முத்தூற்ற-
104. அமுலைக் குமரடி யமைச்ச திருவிளக்கொன்றினு பூமியாவொ கிழாஞ்-
ஞினி-
105. ஆயம்பதின்கல மாராயனடிச்சி வீருபத்தைங்கலஞ் சிறுகல்வெலி இரு-
பத்தைங்கலமுமாய்க் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை: மூண்-
யில் நம்புநா-
107. ரண னமைச்ச திருவிளக்கொன்றினு பூமி கண்ணனாடு நூற்றுக்கலம்
ஆதன் அருத்திவளாலி-
108. லக் களரொடியில் மூன்றென்று: குண்டியுரொடியால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவி-
ளக்கொன்-

1. The letter k looks like kai.

IIZUR TREASURY PLATES OF THE TIRUVALLA TEMPLE.

(To Face p. 178).

X (a)

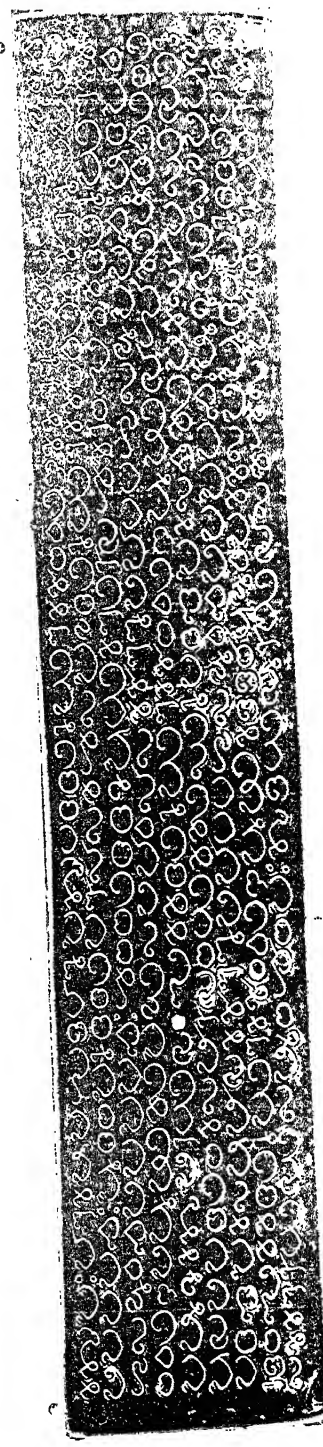


91
 93
 95
 97
 99

92
 94
 96
 98

X (b)

(To Face p. 178).



100
 102
 104
 106
 108

101
 103
 105
 107

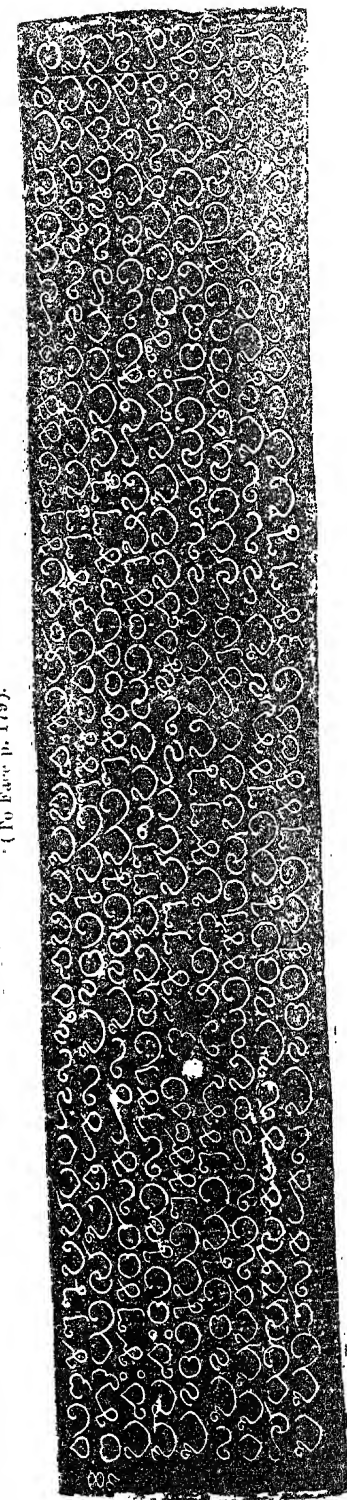
K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Scale 1/5.

H. W. Jones.

HUZUR TREASURY PLATES OF THE TIRUVALLA TEMPLE.

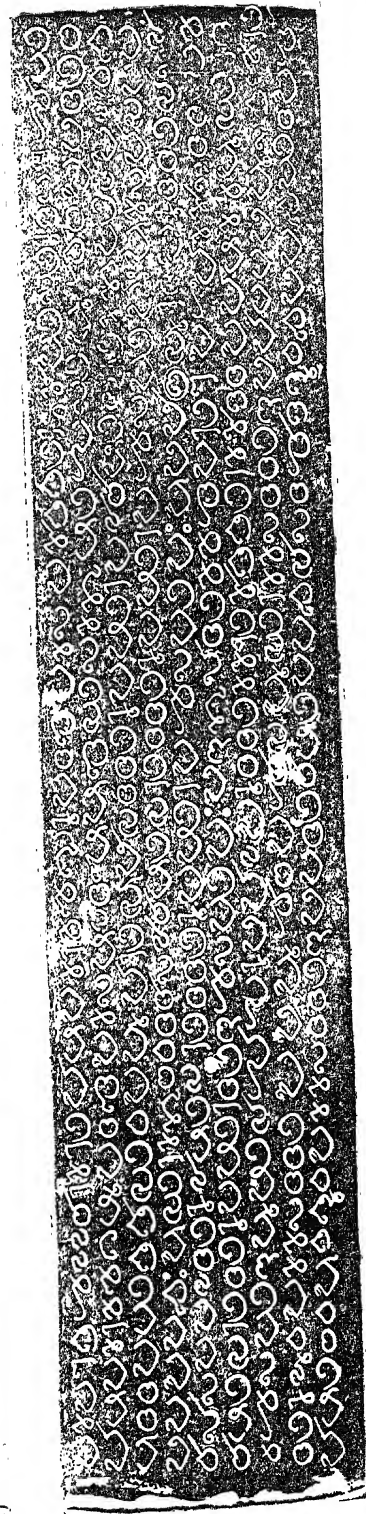
(To Face p. 179).



(a)

110
112
114
116

(To Face p. 188).



(b)

281
283
285
287

Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Scale 1/2.

Half-tone. BY THE CALCUTTA PHOTOGRAPHIC CO.

Eleventh Plate: First Side.

1109. நின்று கொள்ளும் பாட்டெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: கிழாண்டி-
ளமைச்ச தலையொடியாலுந் தெ-
1110. ன்னொடியாலுந் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றின்று கொள்ளும் பாட்ட-
ெல் நூற்றைம்பது
1111. பறை: கொள்கத்தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றின்று கொள்ளும்
பாட்டெல் நூற்றைம்ப-
1112. து பறை: திருநிலார்கரியும் அள்ளப்பயின்களமும் மொகிலியாலுந்
செல்-
1113. லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றின்றுக்கொள்ள பாட்டெல் நூற்றைம்பது
கைதைப்பரூலால்ச் செ-
1114. ல்லுந் திருவிளக்கு வழிநுங் கொள்ளும் பாட்டெல் நூற்றைம்பது
பறை: கி-
1115. ட்ந்நுபரூலில் நென்மலிக்கரியும் வடசெரியொடியுந் சாத்கிரியுங் குழி-
1116. யொடியுமாய்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கு நூறு நெல்லுந் நூறு பறை:
வெழுமுள-
1117. ன்நிலைச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றின்று கொள்ளும் பாட்டெல் நூ-
ற்றைம்ப-

Eleventh Plate: Second Side.

1118. து பறை: மிளமுடக் கெண்ணுற்றுக்கலத்தின்மேலுந் தலைமனைவாழ்க்-
கை விலக்கி-
1119. விமங்கலத்து வாழ்க்கையுமுட்படத் திருவிளக்கொன்றின்று கொள்ளும்
பாட்டெல்
1120. நூற்றைம்பது பறை: இழிஞ்ஞினத்தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொண்-
டினு கொள்ளு-
1121. ம் பாட்டெல் முந் நூறு பறை: திருவல்லவா முவச்ச னீராயர் செச்சவ
ன்மைச்ச பூமி
1122. காட்டுசெறுகணா நூற்றுக்கலமுங் கைதைப்பரூலக் கடனி வெட்டெட்-
ன்றும் வெண்பாலைய-
1123. லில் நங்கையாள்வளாலில்ப் பதின்மலமுமாய்த் திருவிளக்கொன்றின்று
கொள்ளும் பா-
1124. ட்டெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: புரையால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்-
கொன்றின்று கொள்ளும் பாட்-
1125. டெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: பத்திரசாண்களமைச்ச பெலிப்புறத்தா-
ல்ச் செல்-
1126. லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றின்று கொள்ளும் பாட்டெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை:
கற்புழைக்க(ரி)-

Twelfth Plate: First Side.

127. ரியால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டெல் விரு-
நூறு பறை: கற்புழை-
128. ப்பறலால்க் குறிச்சுவித்தானத்து திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும்
பாட்டெல் நூற்றை-
129. ம்பது பறை: கரையும் வயலுங் கூட மருதஞ்செரி விளக்கினு: குறுமா-
ப்பள்ளிக்-
130. கரியாலும் ஈரைப்புரையிடத்தாலுஞ் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு
கொள்ளும் பாட்-
131. டெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: சிறுறையாலும் புரையிடத்தாலுந் திரு-
விளக்-
132. கினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டெல் அயம்பது பறை: இடைச்செரிக்கரியால்ச்
செல்லுந்-
133. திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை:
பருத்திக் கொணத்தால்
134. ச்செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டெல் நூற்றைம்
பது பறை: மிளாவி-
135. னாலொடியு முரிப்பினாலொடியும் பொதுவத்துகரியுமாய்ச் செல்லுந்
திருவி-

Twelfth Plate: Second Side.

136. ளக்கிரண்டினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டெல் முந்நூறு பறை: ஈரையால்ச்
செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கி-
137. ரண்டினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டெல் முந்நூறு பறை: கொமாகாட்டு நம்பி-
யிராம னமைச்ச தி-
138. ருவிளக்கினு பூமி நென்மலிக்கரி எழுபத்தைங்கலமு மெழுபத்தைம்-
பறை-
139. க்கு பாட்டம்: வாழைப்பள்ளிப் பொட்டையாலுங் குழியொடியாலுஞ்
செல்லு-
140. ந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை:
இராமவகை மு-
141. வரமைச்ச திருவிளக்கினு பூமி செல்லாரொடியும் மெட்டொடியுமாய்க்
கொள்-
142. னும் பாட்டெல் முந்நூறு பறை: எதிரெத்துவாழ்க்கை யிருநூற்றுக்
கலத்தாலுஞ் செ-
143. ல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டெல் விருநூறு பறை:
பீணம்பறல்மெ-
144. ள்த் திருவிளக்கினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டெல் தொண்ணூறுபறை:
காபாலிமங்கலத்தால்

Thirteenth Plate: First Side.

145. ச்செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் தூற்றைம்பது பறை: அகலாய்ப்ப-
து பறை: அகலாய்ப்ப-
146. ரூலால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கு முன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல்
நானூற்றைம்பது பறை
147. : அகலாய்ப்பரூல் மணலாடி தூற்றுக்கலம் அந்திலங்கயின்னு கீலம்
பெர்:
148. கொயிற்புறத்து நாயித்தியார் திருவிளக்கினமைச்ச பூமி அகலாபரூல்
தூற்று-
149. க்கலமும் ஆரோரண்டில் பகர்ந்து படுவிது அவ்வாண்டு செம்பின்கி-
மொடி-
150. யால்ச் செல்விது; புற்கிழாநாவாழிற்ற ஏறஞ்சங்கர¹ னமைச்ச திரு-
விளக்கி-
151. னு பூமி இடைத்திட்டை தூற்றுக்கலம்; நம்புகாளியா ரமைச்ச பள்ளி-
வளாகத்-
152. தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்று: பள்ளமுடையா ரமைச்ச தாயங்-
குன்றப் போழன் வா-
153. முக்கையால்ச் செல்லும் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல்
தூற்றைம்பது ப-

Thirteenth Plate: Second Side.

154. னை: பெருவயலூர் யக்கங்கொதை அமைச்ச சிறுகடைத்துருத்திக்-
காராண்மைமெ லமைச்ச தி-
155. ருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் தூற்றைம்பது பறை:
உத்தமசெட்டி செறுகடைத்து-
156. ருத்திவாழ்க்கைமெல்ப் பொன்கொடுத் தமைச்ச திருவிளக்கொன்றினு
கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல்
157. தூற்றைம்பது பறை: வாணியர் செலுத்துந் திருவிளக்கொன்று: பாலை-
க்காலொடியால்ச்-
158. செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் அயம்பது பறை:
நெடியான்வாழ்-
159. க்கைமெ லம்பலத்தி லந்திவிளக்கினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல்விருபத்
தைம்பறை
160. : தொம்பூர்க்கரியால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பா-
ட்டநெல் விருதூற்-
161. திருபத்தைம்பறை: அம்பலத்தி லந்திவிளக்கினு தொம்பூர்க்கரிமெல்க்
கொள்ளு-
162. ந்நெல் புறந் தூற்று நாழி: கொமாகாட்டுநாய ரமைச்ச திருவிளக்கினு
பூமி முளிய-

¹ is written afterwards and below the line.

Fourteenth Plate: First Side.

163. னா ரகப்பட்ட தெல்லா[வ*]ற்றின்மெலுமாய்க் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல்
நூற்றைம்பது பறை
164. : இருப்புழையால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல்
விருநூற்றிரு-
165. பத்தைம்பறை: கிழ்வெள்ளூரால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்று: அயி-
ரக்குன்றத்-
166. தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது
பறை: பெருவூரால்-
167. ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்று பொதுவாள்ப்பெறு எழுபத்தைஞ்சு:
பாலைக்காடாகின்-
168. ற செரிக்கலால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்ட
நெல் நூற்றைம்ப-
169. நூ பறை: அயொகம்ண்ணூரால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு
கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல்
170. நூற்றைம்பது பறை: ஓடநாட்டு வரிலையால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்-
கொன்றினு கொள்-
171. னும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: மருத் துவக்குடாவினில்ச் செ-
ல்லுந் தி-

Fourteenth Plate: Second Side.

172. ருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றிருபத்தைம்பறை:
வாகைத்தானமமைச்-
173. ச திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கிழச்செரிக்கரியால்க் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல்
இருநூறுபறை:
174. பருத்திக்காட்டு முள்மனை அவர்[க*]ள் தருந் நெல் எழுபத்தைம்பறை
அரைவிளக்கு செல்வி-
175. நூ: குழியொடி நாற்பத்தைஞ்சு: மாமுளங்கினில்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிள-
க்கிரண்-
176. டினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் முந்நூறு பறை: மகிழஞ்செ ரிரணிகற்-
பம் விக்கிரம ன-
177. மைச்ச திருவிளக்கினு பூமி சிறுக்கண்ணூர் குழி முப்பதின்சுமும்
கிட-
178. ங்ருழி பதின்சுமம்: மருதஞ்செரி விளக்கினுள்ள மருதஞ்செரிவாழ்க்கை
ஆயி-
179. ரத்திருநூற்றுக்கலமுமாவொ கிழக்கின் செரைகரி நூற்றுக்கலம்: படி-
ஞ்ஞாயிற்று செ-
180. ரைகரி நூற்றுக்கலம்: குழிக்கரியிலும் பலாவினாலொடி மெட்டொடி
மூன்-

Fifteenth Plate: First Side.

181. திலுமுள்ள வாழ்பகர்ச்சை நூற்றுக்கலம்: பக்கன்கரி: வந்துநின்று
செரிஒடி.
182. : வடசெரி ஒடிவளநல்லூர் வாழின்றது நூற்றுக்கலம்: வடசெரிக்கரி-
யில்
183. பள்ளிக்காவினில்க் கிழரதிகரிக்கின்றது நூற்றுக்கலம்: வடசெரிஒடி-
ப-
184. டி நூயிற்றெழுடி. நூற்றுக்கலம்: காடன்புள்ளி: ஒன்பதுவெண்க: 50
வெலி
185. : காமக்கானப்பள்ளி அதிகரிக்கின்ற பட்டொடி. நூற்றுக்கலம்: மச-
ளாந்திலக்கா-
186. லொடியுமதினு பகர்ந்துபடும் புள்ளியும்: இளந்துருத்தியவாதி-
கரிக்க-
187. ன்ற புயாவொடி. கொலஞ்செரியுஞ் சொதமங்கவழு மதிகரிக்கண்-
து
188. டி: சிரிராமன் புள்ளி நூற்றுக்கலம் பாலனொட இவ்வொடிக் நூற்றுக்க-
லத்தின்மே-
189. விடங்கழியால் நூற்று நாழிச் செய்துநெல் படுவிது: ஸ்ஷீ பெணக்-
லாந்தூ-

Fifteenth Plate: Second Side.

190. மணலால்ச் செல்லும் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று: பெருந்தெய்தல் இருத்-
துழிவாழ்-
191. க்கையா விருநாழி அரி திருவமிந்து மொரு விரிச்சிக விளக்குஞ் செல்-
விது:
192. கிழச்செரிவளாலால் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று நாழியரி திருவமிந்து
செல்-
193. விது: ஆதன்றுருத்திவளால்மெல் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று செல்விது:
வெண்-
194. பாலைவயலில் புண்ணைமற்றத்து ஒன்று: சட்டானப்பள்ளிக்கு வளைச்சா-
ணிவா-
195. முக்கையால்ச் செல்லும் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று: நெடுவெலிச் சொமா-
யியார் கரு-
196. ம்பாமடி யிரண்டுமெலி நிலத்தால் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று செல்விது:
மனை-
197. யர்கரும்பினால் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று செல்விது: ஞெளங்காட்டு
பொக்கண்-
198. டார் புரையிடத்தால் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று செல்விது: பாதமுல்
நாராயணன்

1 The read இவ்வொரோ is not beyond doubt: the existing symbols may also stand for இப்பொக, the last representing the numeral 1.

Seventeenth Plate: First Side.

199. லச்செல்லும் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளுந் நெல் பதினைம்ப-
றை: ஷ்ஷி
200. திருவல்லவாழப்பனு திருச்சந்தனத்தினுள்ள பூமி செறுமண்கரையால்
வெணு-
201. பட்டிகள் தருந் திருச்சந்தன முத்துலாத்தறுபத்தைம்பலம்: துடந்தலை-
க்காலால்
202. வாழுந் தரணிவர்ம்ம ரமைச்ச திருச்சந்தனத்தினுள்ள பூமி ஞாறலூர்க்
கால் நால்க்-
203. கலம்: புலிக்கொனூர் நால்க்கலம்: வெண்மணல் நால்க்கலம்: கண்ணன்
காட்டால் நால்க்-
204. கலம்: நானூறு பறைக்கு பாட்டம்: சந்தனப் புறமைஞ்ஞாற்றுக்கல-
மைஞ்ஞாறு பறை-
205. க்கு பாட்டம் திருச்சந்தனந் நிச்சலிருபலஞ் செல்விது: காபாலிமங்க-
லத்-
206. தால் அயம்பது பறை: பெருமாள் நடையால் அய்[ம்*]பது பறை: தெ-
வியார் நடையால் அ-
207. யம்பது பறை: சங்கரமங்கலத் திருபத்திருபத்தைம்பறை: இதெல்லாங்
கூட்டி ஓரொ-

Seventeenth Plate: Second Side.

208. பலஞ் செல்விது: வெளுர்க்காபாலிச்சுவரத்து குளத்தினு தெக்கின் பு-
ரையிடத்தி-
209. ன்மெ லாட்டு மிருபலஞ் சந்தனந் தரக்கடனியர்: வெளுர்க்கிழ்மங்கல
நூற்றுக்கல-
210. முந் திருச்சந்தனத்தினுள்ளிது: திருப்புலைக் கொள்ள பூமி வெணுட்டு
கொதைகுளங்-
211. ஙரை மணிக்கடையாகின்ற பூமி இருபத்துநால்க்கலத்தின்மெலு மங்-
ஙுள்ள வ-
212. விய தூணியா விருபத்துநாற்றுணி: தச்சறை நால்ப்பது பறை: சடா-
ன்றுறை வானவர் கொ-
213. யில் முப்பது பறை: காபாலிமங்கலத்தால் அயம்பதினாழி: பெருமாள்
நடை-
214. யா விருபத்தைம்பறை: தெனியார் நடையா விருபத்தைம்பறை: இழிஞ்-
ஞினத்தால் தி-
215. ருச்சந்தன முக்கழைஞ்ஞா: காக்கைவளர்லருகெ செறுவளால் நூற்று
நாழி நெல் திருப்புலைக் கொ-
216. ள்ளொ: ஷ்ஷி பழையனாட்டு தாமரைச்செரியால்ச் செல்லுந் திரு-
வமிர்து நானாழி

Eighteenth Plate: First Side.

217. வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: ஆஞ்ஞினிஅறைமெ லனத்தக்குபயர் செ-
ர்ம்ம
218. னமைச்ச திருவமிர்து நானாழி: முடக்கலிடையால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவ-
மிர்-
219. நூ நானாழி: திருப்பெருந்துறை பதனமாயியால்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து
நூற்றெருப-
220. த்திருபறையரை: புல்விதாற்றால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து நானாழி வி-
த்து
221. நூற்றைம்பது பறை: மாந்நாமங்ஙலத்து வட்டச்சிறையால்ச் செல்லுந்
திருவ-
222. மிர்து நானாழி வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: விலக்கிலிமங்ஙலத்தல
னமைச்-
223. ச நானாழி யரித் திருவமிர்தினு பூமி குறக்கொட்டு வஞ்சியு மணற்று
மெட்ட-
224. டியார் முளங்ஙுமாய் வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: முட்டாற்றில்க் கொ-
ற்றன்கரியால்ச்
225. செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து இருநாழி வித்தெழுபத்தைம்பறை: நெடுங்ஙாலி-
நாட்டு-

Nineteenth Plate: Second Side.

226. நடைக்கு கைதைப்பறால் நானாழி யரித்திருவமிர்து வித்து நூற்றை-
ம்பது பறை
227. : முட்டாற்றின்மெல் வங்ஙத்தில்க் கொள்ளும் இருபத்தைம்பறையுங்
கூட்டிச் செல் -
228. விது: அயொகமண்ணுரால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து பதினாநாழி யரி:
1 உத்திர-
229. சாரணிகள் ஞாறல்க்காட்டெ லமைச்ச திருவமிர்து நானாழி வித்து
நூற்றைம்பது பறை
230. : கழவந் தாயனாரொடியுங் கும்பனாகரியுமாய்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து
நானா-
231. ழி வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: காஞ்ஞிக்காவுஞ் சாத்தன் காமன் வெ-
லியு முழபகர்-
232. ச்சையுமாய் நானாழியரி திருவமிர்து வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: இ-
டை வஞ்சி-
233. யுந் நங்ஙையார்வளாலுங் கொழுமினைங்ஙலுமாய் நானாழியரி திருவமி-
ர்து வித்-
234. நூ நூற்றைம்பது பறை: அகழகத்துவளாலால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து
நானாழி வித்-

1 The first letter can also be read உ.

Nineteenth Plate: First Side.

235. து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: கற்புழைப்பள்ளமுந் தலையொடியுமாய் நானூழியரி திருவமி-
 236. ர்து வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: கிடங்குபறால் காரண்கூற்றால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்-
 237. து நானூழி வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: காடந்தத்தனாரொடியும் மிளா-
 வினாலொடியுமாய்ச்-
 238. செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து நானூழி வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: சிற்றொடியால்ச் செல்-
 239. லுந் திருவமிர்து இருநாழி வித்தெழுபத்தைம்பறை: அநினில் பொலி கொள்வொ
 240. வித்திருபத்தைம்பறை: எருமைத்தானத்து வாழ்கையால் நெய்யாடுவான் நூற்று நாழி பு-
 241. ம்நிக்கித் திருவமிர்தினு முப்பது பறை: வெழக்காடமைச்ச ஈரையால்ச் செல்லுந்-
 242. திருவமிர்து நானூழி வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: பள்ளமுடையாரமைச்ச தாயங்குன்-
 243. மப்போழன் வாழ்க்கையால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து எண்ணாழி வித்து முந்தாறு பறை:

Nineteenth Plate: Second Side.

244. பொக்கண்டாரமைச்ச பாட்டக்கரியால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து இருநாழியரி வித்-
 245. தெழுபத்தைம்பறை: தொட்டோடு தொட்டிடையால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து நானூழி வி-
 246. த்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: பெருஞ்சூரால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து நானூழி வித்து நூற்றைம்-
 247. பது பறை: மூலொர்படுவத்து புதுவரியையால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து நானூழி வி-
 248. த்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: பாலைத்தானத்து கரியும் பிள்ளன் படுவமுங் காஞ்சிரத்தி-
 249. னாலொடியும் பறையன்புறையுமாய் மெலொடியால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து எண்ணாழி
 250. வித்து முந்தாறு வல்லத்து தென்னமைச்சிது: இழுத்து நின்று வந்ந வாணியன் பள்ள-
 251. த்து பொக்கோவிநன் கையில்த் திருவமிர்தினு கொடுத்த மாவகை தாயன் குன்றப்போழன்-
 252. வாழ்க்கைமெல் நன்நையார் கடவிய நெல் அஞ்ஞாறு பறை: பள்ளத்து டொன்றவியார் கட-

Twentieth Plate: First Side.

253. விபொ முந்தாறு பறை: விரியூர்ப் போக்கண்டனார் கடம்பெ-
அறுநாறுபறை: இவற்றி-
254. னுள்ள பொலிகொண்டு திருவமிர்து செல்விது: காஞ்சிநாக்கொண்டு
சிறுகழுப்புஞ் செம்பி-
255. ன் துருத்தியுமாய் நானாழியரி திருவமிர்து வித்து தாழ்ப்பைத்து
பறை: சிறுகழுப்பி-
256. ன்மேல் தூறுபறை வித்து திருவமிர்தினு: கடம்மன் செந்நாட்டி விழு-
பத்தைம்பறை-
257. திருநாழியரி திருவ்மிர்து: வலியகடா யறுபது பறை திருவமிர்தினு:
இழி-
258. ஞ்ஞினத்து குட்டன்கரி திருவமிர்தினு நால்பது பறை: இலாநாசக்
காட்டில்ப் பரமே-
259. ஸ்ரீமந்நலத்தவன் தரும் பொலி நெல் அப்பம்பது பறை: ஆதாநாசக்
லத்தால் நாழிய-
260. ரி திருவமிர்து: வல்லமண்கரியால் நாழியரி திருவமிர்து: சிற்பகடா-
யால்த்-
261. திருவமிர்தினு வித்து நால்பது பறை: காட்டுருடைபாடொட்பால்
திருவாயம்பாடி.

Twentieth Plate: Second Side.

262. யப்பனு இருநாழியரி திருவமிர்தினு வித்தெழுபத்தைம் பறை: வராக-
ப்பனு திருவ-
263. மிர்தினு மண்ணின்செரிப்புரையிடமு மதினுகிழ்மினியாலுக் நாழியர்-
க்கு வி-
264. த்து முப்பத்தெழு பறை யரை வைகாலைக்கு: புலிகூட்டு வயவிலொ-
ள்ள மெலொடி வராகப்ப-
265. னு உச்சைக்குக் கூட்டிச் செல்விது: சையத்தியன்வெலியும் வெழக்கா-
ட்டாலுங் கொ-
266. ள்ளும் மெலொடியும் வராகப்ப னுச்சைத் திருவமிர்தினுக்கு: கிடங்வு-
பறால்ப் பொன்
267. னியக்கநாய னமைச்ச அக்காரடலையுங் கூத்தினுமாய்க் கொள்ளும்
வித்து எழுபத்தைம்பறை
268. இவற்றாலெ பதினெழுபறை உழக்கு வித்து கொண்டு உரொயணிதொ-
றும் பந்திருநாழிய-
269. ரி திருவமிர்து: நாராயநாழியா விருநாழி நெய்யமிர்து: நானாழிப்பால்:
தெங்நாய் நாலு:
270. வாழைப்பழ மெட்டு: கரும்பினி ரிருநாழி: விரிச்சிக ஞாயிற்று
ரொயணிநாள்க் காளி-

1 செந்நெழு would be a preferable reading [K. V. S.]

Twenty-first Plate: First Side.

271. யாங்கங் கூத்தாடுமவனு இருபத்தைம்பறை: கண்ணன் செந்நன்கரி
தறையு மதினுகிழுள்ள பூ-
272. மியாலும் வித்து பதினைம்பறை: செகிடன் பறம்பினுல்க் கொள்ளும்
வித்து முப்பது ப-
273. றை: சாத்தங் காமன் வெலியால்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து பதினைம்பறை:
வெழுமுளங்வினுல்ச் செல்-
274. லுந் திருவமிர்து எண்ணாழி வித்து முந்நாறு பறை: கொயில்க்கரிப்-
பொக்கிரன் காராண் கூற்றா-
275. ல்க் கைதைவெலி வாழ்க்கைக்கு நானாழி யரி திருவமிர்தினு வித்து
நூற்றைம்பது பறை:
276. பணிச்சவருத்தியில்க் குளக்காட்டச்சியா ரமைச்ச நானாழித் திருவமிர்-
தினு வி-
277. த்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: பள்ளியார்கரிப் புதுக்கரியால் நானாழியரித்
திருவமிர்தினு வி-
278. த்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: நாராயணமங்கலத்து அச்சதஞ் செதுப்பி-
ரா நமைச்ச பூமியாவொ
279. பொத்தங்குமானார்கரி யிருபத்தைங்கலம் முன்றென்றுகரி வாழ்பக-
ர்ச்சை இருபத்தைங்கலமு-

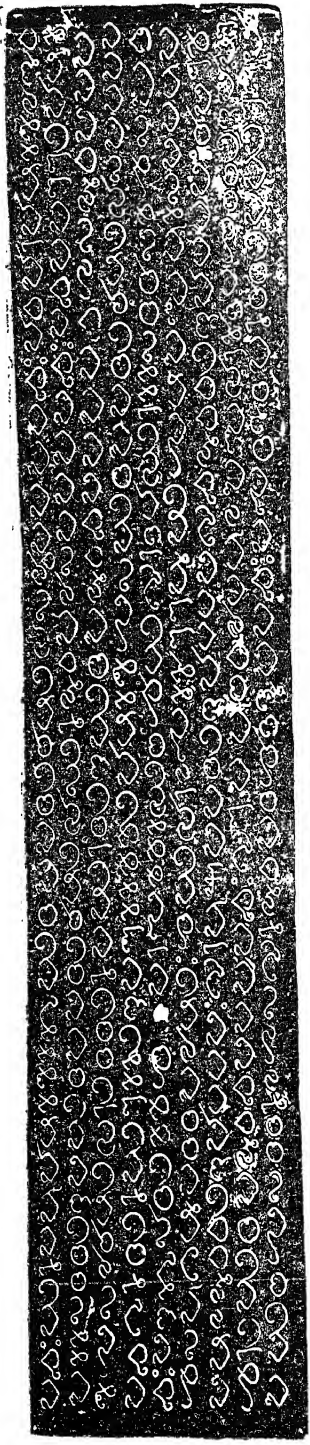
Twenty-first Plate: Second Side.

280. ங் கவளஞ்செந்நன்கரி வாழ்பகர்ச்சை யிருபத்தைங்கலங் காஞ்ஞிரக்-
காவிரண்டரையொடி
281. வாழ்பகர்ச்சை எழுபத்தைங்கலமுந் தழைமுதையில்க் குழிவெலி ஆ-
ரென்று மகின-
282. நெத்த படிஞ்ஞாயிற்று பூதாரியுமாய்த் திருவமிர்து நானாழியரிக்கு வித்து
நூற்றை-
283. ம்பது பறை: ஆயிரக்குன்றத்தால் நானாழி யரித் திருவமிர்து செல்-
விது: அகல்வாய்ப்ப-
284. ருலாஃப் பந்திருநாழியரித் திருவமிர்து செல்விது: அம்மானையூர்த்
துருத்தியால் நா-
285. னாழியரி திருவமிர்தினு செல்விது: மலுகுலாதிச்சதெவ ரிளங்நொக்
காலத் தமைச்-
286. ச செலவினு பூமியாவொ பெரும்பாந்துருத்திக்கரி காஞ்ஞிரக்கொண-
த்து வாழ்க்கை ஆயிரத்-
287. திருநூற்றுக்கலத்தினும் ஆரென்று போய் ஆயிரக்கலத்தினும் பா-
ட்டம் ஆலஞ்செரி
288. வாழிந்ற அஞ்ஞாற்றுக்கலத்தினும் பதினாழிப் பறையால்த் தொண்-
னூற்றைம்பறை வித்து தொ-

HITZER TREASURY PLATES OF THEATRIKVALLA TEMPLE.

(To Face p. 189).

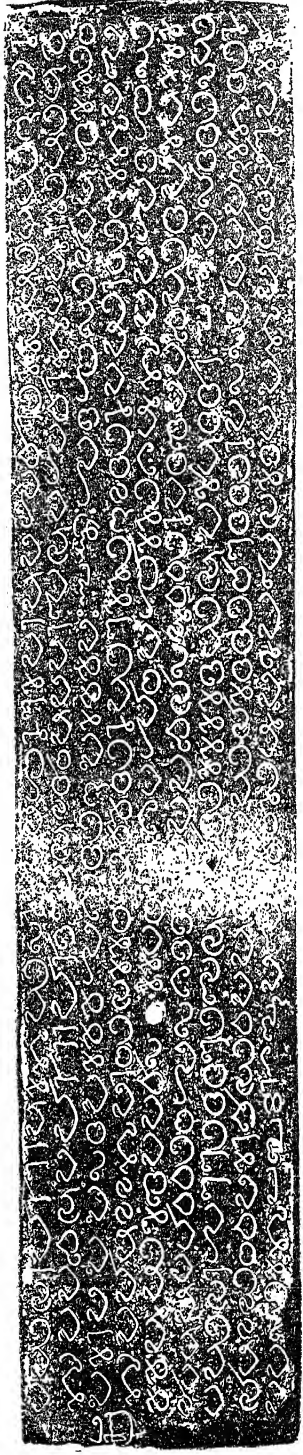
I (a) T O



299
301
303
305

(To Face p. 192).

(b)



344
346
348
350

Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Scale 1/5.

Half-size. By the Calcutta Phototype Co.

Twenty-second Plate: First Side.

289. ண்ணூற்றைம்பறை நெல் மிக்கஞ்ஞாற்றுக்கலத்தினும் தொண்ணூற்றைம்பறை வித்து தொ-
290. ண்ணூற்றைம்பறை நெல்: காராண்கற்றின்மெல் தெவியார் பொன்னிட்டுநெடிக்கெசுவங்க-
291. ண்டன் வாழ்ந்ந வாழ்வழிமெல்ப் பதினாழியா லிருநாற்றுபறை: செந்நன்கரிமெல் ஓ-
292. ருப்புறக்காடர் காராணமைமெல்வித்து நூற்றிருபது நெல் நூற்றிருபது பறை பதினா-
293. ழியால்: அணுக்கன்வாழ்க்கைமெல்ப் பதினாழிப் பதுபால் துந்நுபது பறை வித்-
294. து: தாழ்பற்றிவாழ்க்கை நூற்றுக்கலத்தின்மெல்க் கொள்ளுந்நு வித்து பதினாழியால்
295. அறுபது பறை: குரல்பாடிவாழ்க்கை மெல்க் கொள்ளுந்நு வித்து பதினாழியா லறுபது
296. பறை: செம்பின்வெலிக்கு பதினாழியா லறுபது பறை: ஆரிகாட்டுவாழ்க்கைக்கு பதி-
297. னாழியால் நால்பது பறை: தட்டம்பாறை வாழ்க்கைக்கு வித்து பதினாழியால் நால்பது

Twenty-second Plate: Second Side.

298. பறை: லிருப்புவாழ்க்கைக்கு வித்து பதினாழியால் நால்பது பறை: பாற்றுர் வாழ்க்கை நானூற்றை-
299. ழுக் கலத்தினும் வித்து பதினாழியா லிருநாற்று நால்பது பறை: பறைப்பள்ளிவாழ்க்-
300. கைமெல் நானாழியரித் திருவமிர்தினு வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை நெல் நூற்றைம்பது
301. பறை லுரு திருவிளக்கினு வளைக்கச்சி வாழ்க்கைமெல் வித்து பதினாழியால் லறுபது ப-
302. பறை: மனுசுலாதிச்சதெவ ரமைச்ச கயின்ருடி இரண்டாயிரக் கலத்தால்ச் செல்லுஞ்-
303. செல்வு எழுபத்தறுநாழி: தெவியாரடைக்கொள்ள பூமி வெழங்கை அகல்மட்டுவ-
304. ம் முந்நூற்றினு பாட்டம்: இரவு ஐம்பதினு பாட்டம் இறை நூற்றினு பாட்டம்: தாமரைச்-
305. செரி வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: இளங்குன்றாட்டு நக்ஷத்திரம் கொண்ட பொன்னினு மாமுள-
306. ன்கின்மெல்த தருந் நெல் இருநாற்றுத் தொண்ணூற்று பறை: படைத் தைத்துருத்திப் பிள்ளைமா-

1 The 'ந' of நால்பது is written below the line.

2 வடைதலை would be a preferable reading [K. V. S.]

Twenty-Third Plate: First Side.

307. ருடை நெடிய இடைத்திட்டைவாழ்க்கை தெவியார் நடைக்கொ-
ள்ளிது: பணிச்சவிருத்-
308. தி தெவியார் நடைக்கொள்ளிது: பெருமாவெலிக்கரி முளைப்புழைமண்
வாழ்ன்ற இரண்டா-
309. யிரத்திருநூற்றுக்கலமும் ஏனாதி வாழ்க்கையும் வெண்ணத்தடமும்
முவாயிரக்கலமும் ஆ-
310. ஞ்சொன்று மெலொடி கொள்விது: தெவியார் நடைக்கொள்ளிது மி-
ளாவினால்க்கரி தறையு-
311. ந் தறைக்கிழ் நானூற்றுக்கல நிலமுந் தெவியார் நடைக்கொள்ளிது: கா-
பாலிமங்க-
312. லத்தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து எண்ணாழி யரி வித்து முந்நூறு ப-
றை: இடைநா-
113. ட்டு வரியையால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து எண்ணாழியரி வித்து முந்நூ-
று பறை:
314. புதுக்கரி திருவமிர்தினு வித்து நூறு பறை: நெடுமற்றம் பகர்ந்ந பக-
ர்ச்சை காரைக்காவி-
315. ளக்கைதைக்காடு திருவமிர்தினு: வெழக்காட்டு நாராயணஞ் செந்ந
னமைச்ச பூமி இரமையா-

Twenty-Third Plate: Second Side.

316. கின்ற நிலமு மதினு படு[த]றையுங்¹ கூட நானூற்றுக்கலந் நிலத்தால்ச்-
செலவு நானாழிய-
317. ரித் திருவமிர்தும் ஒரு திருவிளக்குஞ் செல்விது இந்நிலம் விரியூர்க்
கண்டனி-
318. ரவி காராண்மைச் செய்து எண்ணாழிப் பறையால் வித்து நூற்றைம்-
பது நெல் நூற்றைம்பதும்
319. செலுத்தக்கடவியன் விரியூர்க் கண்டனிரவி உரோயணி ஞாயிற்றகமெ
வித்தூந்
320. நெல்லுந் திருவளகையில்க் கொண்டுசென் றளவுகொடுக்கக்கடவியன்
விரியூர்க் கண்டன் னிர-
321. வி: ஷ்ஷி: பெருமாள்நடைக்கு பெரும்பான் நுருத்தியால் நெய்யமி-
ர்து நாழி நெல் முந்-
322. நூறு பறை: தாயங்குன்றப்பொழன் வாழ்க்கையால் பள்ளமுடை-
யா ரமைச்ச நெய்யமிர்து
323. ஆழக்கு நெல் முப்பத்தெழு பறை யரை: இரையால் நெய்யமிர்து உழ-
க்கு நெல் எழுப-
324. ததைம்பறை: காபாலிமங்கலத்தால் நெய்யமிர்து உரி நெல் நூற்றை
ம்பது பறை: தெ-

1 The letter in brackets looks almost like a zero.

Twenty-fourth Plate: First Side.

325. வியார் செலவினு நெய்யமிர்நா நாழி நெல் முந்நாறு பறை: திழிஞ்சி-
னத்தால்¹ நெய்-
326. யமிர்நா முழுக்கு நெல்லிருநாற்றிருபத்தைம் பறை: கைதைப்பருல்க்க-
டனல் நெய்யமிர்-
327. து உழக்கு நெல் எழுபத்தைம்பறை: அரைஞ்ஞன்முதை நெய்யமிர்நி-
னு நெல்லிருபது
328. பறை: இளங்குன்றநாட்டுநம்பியா ரமைச்ச நெய்யமிர்தினு புதுவரியை-
யா லுழக்கு நெ-
329. ய் செல்விது நெல் எழுபத்தைம்பறை: ஸ்ரீலி மதுனத்தில் வியாழந்
நின்ற மேடஞா-
330. யிற்று திருவல்லவாழ் முக்கால்வட்டத்து ஊரவிரோத்தால்க் கூடிய-
ருந்து செய்த ஸ்ரீகா-
331. ரியமாவிது வெண்பொலிநாடுடைய இரவி சிரிகண்டன் தன்னுடைய
குடலுருங் குட-
332. லுர்க்குப்படும் பதினெட்டு வரியையும் அங்காடியு மகப்படத் திருவல்ல-
வா-
333. முப்பனு கிழி டட்டிக்குத்தா னிரவி சிரிகண்ட னிதினு கிழிட்டினு
கொடுப்பா

Twenty-fourth Plate: Second Side.

334. னமைஞ்ஞ ரகூபாவாகு பொன் குடு முரையும் வருவிது பதினெண்
கழைஞ்ஞ பொன்னுக் ஒக்கு-
335. ம் பதினாழிப்பறையால் முந்நாற்றறுபது பறை நெல்லாக கொடுக்கக்-
கடவிய னிரவி சிரி-
336. கண்ட னிதினுக் கடுத்த வையயா[சு*] வியாகந்தொறுங் குடலுர் கரு-
மஞ் செய்யின்றவ[ர்*]கள் சம-
337. ஞ்சிதர்மானிடத்தின் கையில்க் கொடுக்க[க்கடவிய*]ரிப்பொன்னினால்
மெல்ச்சார்தி செ-
338. ய்யின்றவ[ர்*]னிருவர்க்குமாய்ப் பதினைஞ்சு காணமுங் கிழ்ச்சார்தி
செய்யின்றவ[ர்*]ள்க்-
339. கு பதினைஞ்சு காணமுந் நிக்கி நின்ற பொன் பதினைஞ்சு கழைஞ்ஞ
பொன் கொண்டு அஞ்சு ஸ்ரீ-
340. வந்நு செய்விக்கக்கடவியர் தங்ஙள் குறவினால்ச் சென்றமைஞ்ஞ கால-
த்து கொள்ளாதொழி-
341. கில் முட்டிரட்டி கொடுக்க கடவனல்லன் என்று நிற்கலு முதற்பொ-
ன்னெ கொடுக்ககடவி-
342. ய னிரவி சிரிகண்டன் [சு*] அரைய கொபமுந் சாமந்த கொபமுந் நிக்கி
ரகூபாவாகு ரகூபாவாகு கொள்ளக்க-

1 There is an unaccountable stroke at the left top of ன.

Twenty-fifth Plate: First Side.

343. டவியர் ஊராளர் புக்கு விலக்கவும் பொருள் கவரவும் பெறா ரிக்கிழித்தி-
னு இரு-
344. கூறு பறையும் ஊராளர் ஊரான்மையுந் தானமும் பரடையும் பெறார்
குடலூர் கிழிடு ச-
345. ந்கரமந்நலத்து கச்சமெ இதினுந் கச்சம்: ஷ்ஷி: வெண்பொலிநாட்டு
தெக்கின்-
346. கூறு வாழ்ந்ந குமர னியக்க னமைச்ச திரு விளக்கினுந் திருவமிர்தினு-
க்கு மமை-
347. ச்ச பூமி கைதைப்பறல்க் கடனிள் எட்டொன்று போக்கி எழுகூறும்
வெண்பொலி-
348. நாட்டு முட்டாற்றின்மெல் எண்ணுழிப் பறையால் நூற்றிருபத்தைம்
பறை வித்து கொடுக்க க-
349. டவியர்[*] வெள்ளித்தளியையும் மாணிக்கக்கண்டியுந் கொடுத்தார்:
ஷ்ஷி: துலாத்தில் வி-
350. யாழந் நின்ற மகரஞாயிற்று புதனாண்ட வியாகத்தினுள்த் திருவல்லவா-
ழப்பனுக்கு திரு-
351. ப்பலிக்கு வ ஹ ஶாஸஹ மமைச்சான் கிழுமலை உடைய கண்டந் குமரபு
மாளுவக்கோ-

Twenty-fifth Plate: Second Side.

352. னமைச்சான் முக்காலும் ஸ்ரீஸுவிக்கு கொட்டுவான் நாலு செண்டை-
யும் ஒரு திமிலை ஒரு செக-
353. ண்டி ஓரணைக் கைத்தாளமு மிரண்டு காகாளமும் ஒன்பது பணி யமை-
ச்சான் மாளுவக்கொன் இப்-
354. பணிக்கு பண்டைத் தண்டமெ தண்டம் இப்பணி செய்யும் ஒன்பது
மானிடத்தினுமா-
355. ய்ச் சிவித மட்டிக்கொடுத்தான் தன்னுடைய நெடும்பலாநாடாகின்ற
ஊர்மெ லிடங்க-
356. ழியால் முப்பதின் கலந் நெல் லாட்டுந் கொடுப்பானமைஞ் ஞட்டிக்
கொடுத்தான் தி-
357. ருவல்லவாழப்பனுக்கு மாளுவக்கொன் ஆட்டுந் கும்பஞாயிற்று உ-
ரொயணி நாளளவு
358. கொடுக்ககடவியவன் அன்கொடாக்கா லவ்வூர் தடுத்து வைச்சகொ-
ள்ளக் கடவியர் பொதுவா-
359. ணம்மா ரிப்பரிசு கொடிக்களத்து யக்கங்கொளந்நனும் பணியுடையவா
ரிருவரும்
360. அதுதூற்றுவருந் கூடி அட்டிக்கொடுத்தார்: ஷ்ஷி: திருவல்லவாழ்
முக்காலவட்-

Twenty-sixth Plate: First Side.

361. டத்து திருத்துவாதயிக்கணத்தா ரவிரோதத்தால்க் கூடியிருந்து திரு-
வெண்ணைய்ச்-
362. செலவமைச்ச பரிசாவிது சித்திரை விழுவு முதலாயிருபது படகாரம்
ஒரோ படகா-
363. ரத்தாலப் பதினெட்டு பங்கு செய்து எண்ணையாட்டுவிது இருபது பட-
காரமாவொ மு-
364. ண்டைப்பள்ளி மகழஞ்செரித் தாமரைக்குளம் மியுன்றத்து தெங்ங-
மண் தெவர்ப-
365. ள்ளி புண்ணைச்செரி காட்டுர் தெங்ஙமண் நெடுவெலி மங்ஙவச்செரி மா-
ணிக்கம-
366. ங்ஙலம் இளமண் இது முதல் வட்டம் [11*] மாடமண் பெருங்ஙெள ம-
கழஞ்செரி கரியனா-
367. ட்டு தெங்ஙமண் இடைச்செரி சென்னெற்றுருத்தி முண்டைப்பள்ளி
குறிச்சி நாராயண-
368. மங்ஙலம் புஞ்சைப்படகாரம் பறம்பூரிது இரண்டாம் வட்டம் [11*] முதல்
வட்ட முன்னமெ-
369. ண்ணிக் கிரமத்தா லாட்டுவிது [11*] இரண்டாம் வட்டம் கொள்விது [1*]
பின்னையிரண்டாம் வட்டமா-

Twenty-sixth Plate: Second Side.

370. ட்டுவிது [1*] முதல்வட்டங் கொள்விது [1*] திருவெண்ணை ஆட்டிக்கும-
வன் உச்சையகத்தைய-
371. யடியின் முன்னெ திருவெண்ணை கொண்டுவந்து கொடுக்க கடவியன்
[1*] ஒட்டியகாலத்து கொண்டுவா-
372. ராக்கில் முட்டிரட்டி ஆட்டுவிது [1*] ஆட்டிய எண்ணை கொள்ளுமவன்
ஏற்று கொடுக்கும-
373. வனு நாழி நாழி யரி கொடுத்து எண்ணை கொள்ளக்கடவியன் [1*] ஒரு
நாள் முட்டிகில் முட்டிரட்டி
374. படுவிது [1*] இரண்டாநாள் முட்டிகிலு மத்தண்டமெ [1*] முன்றாநாள்
முட்டிகில் பத்து காணம்
375. பொன்பட்டு முட்டிரட்டியொடுகூட ஆட்டுவிது [1*] தனக்குபட்ட பதி-
னெட்டு நாளு மு-
376. ட்டிகில் முட்டிரட்டியும் அறுகழைஞ்ஞ பொன் தண்டப்படுவிது [1*]
இடையொள்ள நாள்
377. முட்டிகி லறுகழைஞ்ஞிற் பாதி பொன்னு முட்டிரட்டி திருவெண்ணையு
மாட்டுவிது [1*] மு-
378. ட்டிச்சநாளைத் தண்டம் வச்சன்றிப் பிறற் நாளாட்டப் பெறார் [1*] த-
னக்குபட்ட நாள் தெகிய-

Twenty-seventh Plate: First Side.

379. முட்டிக்குமவன் முட்டிரட்டியுமாட்டித் தண்டமும் வச்சன்றி ஊட்டுங்
கூட்-
380. டமும் பாட்டமும் பெறார்[1*] அவனது பண்ணுமளவுநாளு மவன் பட-
காரம் கொண்டு மற்றொழி-
381. ஞ்ஞவர்[க*] எவனுபட்டநாள் திருவெண்ணை யாட்டுவிது [1*] திரு-
வெண்ணை முட்டிச்சுவச்ச த-
382. ங்கள் போகங் கூறிட்டு கொள்ளப் பெறார் [1*] ¹தம்மிற்ப் படகாரம்
விலை ஒற்றி கொள்ளவுங்-
383. கொடுக்கவும் பெறார்[1*] இடையிடனு மூராளனு முழவும் பாட்டமும்
கொடுக்கப் பெறார்[1*] மகர-
384. ஞாயிறுபற்றுஞ் சங்கிராந்தி அவிரோத நாளிஞ்ஞைக்கு ஐப்பியை வி-
ட்டு வாவு வாவன-
385. புரத் தவிரோத நாள் வாவனபுரத்து முக்கால்வட்டத்து இடையிடன்
பற்றிக்கொள்ளவும் அத-
386. ரஞ் செய்யவும் பெறார்[1*] எது சொல்லியுந் திருவெண்ணையுந் திரு-
வெண்ணைப்புறமும் வில-
387. க்கவும் விலக்குமவனு பாங்குபறையவும் பெற ரித்திருளெண்ணைக்
கொள்ள போகம்

Twenty-seventh Plate: Second Side.

388. பறிக்கவும் கொடாதொழியவும் பெற ரிவ்வமஞ்ஞது பண்ணாதவன்
பெருமானடிகள்-
389. கு அயம் பதின் கழைஞ்ஞ பொன் தண்டம் தவைக்கு இருபத்தைங்க-
ழைஞ்ஞ அன்றடு-
390. கொயில்க்கு பதின்கழைஞ்ஞ பொன் தண்டம்பட்டு முழிக்களத்து க-
ச்சம் பிழைச்சாளு-
391. வொ னித்திருவெண்ணை பல நூறுயிரத்தாண்டுஞ் செலுத்திச்ச கொ-
ண்டருளுக: ஸ்வித மாடம-
392. ண்ணவர்[க*] ளிரண்டயனத்தினு இரு துலார் நெய் யாட்டுவிது: கர்-
க்கடகஞாயிற்றயனத்தினு
393. எருமைத்தானத்துவாழ்க்கையால் துலார் நெய் யாட்டுவிது: வெண்பா-
லைச்சான்ருர்²காடாகின்ற பூ-
394. மிமெல் துலார் நெய் யாட்டுவிது [1*] மகரஞாயிற்றயனத்தினு ஆட்டி-
க்குமவனெ ஏற்று-
395. கொண்டு அகத்து(துது) விடுவிக்க கடவியன்: கற்கடகஞாயிற்றயன-
த்தினு ஆலஞ்செரி
396. அடிக ளமைச்ச நெய் துலாம்: கற்கடகஞாயிற்றயனத்தினு திலதமங்ங-
லத்து-

1 The ம் of this word is engraved afterwards and below the line.

2 The ஸ் looks like ச்.

Twenty-eighth Plate: First Side.

397. புரையிடத்தெலாட்டுந் நெய் துலாம்: நெடுநிங்காட்டுப் பொய்க்காட்டு
புரையிடத்தால் துலா-
398. ந் நெய்யாட்டுவிது: மாந்நாமங்கலத்து நெய்தச்செரிச் சார்க்கடாண்
கெசவன் தாயன்-
399. மைச்ச நெடுந்தாற்றா லாட்டுந் நெய் துலாம்: காட்டிர் உயலில் முண்ட
மிப்பூமி உழு-
400. திடக்களியொன் தெவர்பள்ளிப் பட்டநாராபணன்: இடைச்செரி-
வ னமைச்ச வளவ-
401. னாரொடியும் மணலுடையான்கரி மெலுமா யிரண்டபனத்தினு மிரண்டு
விழுவி-
402. னு மாடுவிது நாற்றுலாம் நெய்: வெட்டித்துருத்தி கரை கங்காணிச்
அயனத்தினு
403. நெய்யாட்டுவிது: ஸ்ரீ: திருவல்லவாழப்பனு ஆவணி பொனத்தினு-
ள்ச் செல்லுஞ் செ-
404. லவாவிது இடைச்செரிச் செந்நங் கெசவன் தன்னுடைய வெளிபுரு-
ர்காட்டுப் பூமியில்
405. தனக்கொள்ளதில் என்பது பறை நெல்ப்பொரு மிடமும் முஞ்சினு-
ட்டில்த் திருவொணக்-

Twenty-eighth Plate: Second Side.

406. கரியால்ந் கொள்ளும் வித்து நூற்றிருபத்தைம்பறை ஆவணி ஓணத்தி-
னாள்ச் செலவு செலு-
407. ந்நாமாறுவிது அன்று ஒரு திருவிளக்கெரிவா எனயுரி கற்ப்பூர் மஞ்ச
காணம் திருச்-
408. சந்தனம் பத்து காணம் திருப்புகைக்கு அகில் பத்து காணம் மாலை-
ரண்டு கிழக்கும்
409. பாடினாயிற்றுந் திருமடைப்பள்ளி நாழிபா லெழுநூற்று நாழி பர்
அட்டுதிருவ-
410. மிந்து செய்யிது பாதி சாத்திரர்க் கமிந்து அதினுலெ எழுநூற்று நாழி
திக்க-
411. நின் றரியால் வராகப்பனு நானாழி திருவாயம்பாடிக்கு நானாழி அதி
ராலைக்கு நான-
412. ழி அப்பாப்பனு நானாழி பூதபலிக்கு பந்திருநாழி [மா]யிபக்கக்குந்
குரவானு-
413. ம் ஆமந்தையூர்க்குமாய்ப் பதினறு நாழி மெல்லம்பெருமக்க விருவர்-
க்குமாயி-
414. ருபதினாழி கிழச்சாந்தி அய்வர்க்கும் அயம்பதினாழி பட்டர்க்கு நானாழி
அ-

Twenty-ninth Plate: First Side.

415. ய்யப்பன் எம்பெருமானு நானாழி: கிழ்ச்சமஞ்சிதனு நானாழி: பண்டா-
ரகள் அய்வர்க்கு-
416. மிருபதினாழி: இலையிடுமவனு நானாழி: வாயிற்க்கல் நிற்க்குமவனு நானா-
ழி: சிரி-
417. பவிக்கு கொட்டுமவரள்க்கும் விளிக்குமவரள்க்கு முப்பத்துமூன்றாள்-
க்கும் ஆ[ள்]
418. வகை முந்நாழிச் செய்தரி: நெய்யமிர்து இடங்கழியா லெண்ணாழி:
அன்று மதில-
419. கத்து எண்ணை வெண்டுமவர்க்கு படுப்பா னிடங்கழியா லஞ்ஞாழி:
மிளகிடங்க-
420. ழியானாழி: சிரக முழக்கினால் நாழி: காயம் ஒரு பலம்: தெங்காய் அ-
றுபது: திரு-
421. வாழைப்பழக்குலை ஆறுகுலை: வாழைக்காய் ஏழு குலை: ஓரொ குலை அ-
றுபது செய்து காயு-
422. ளவாயிருப்பிது: இடங்கழியால்ப் பதினாழிப் பசறு: வாழைக்காயும்
பழத்தி-
423. னுமாய் நெல் நூற்று நாழி: அன்று பாகிடுவான் பதினாயிரம் வெற்றி-
லைக்கு மதினு வெண்-

Twenty-ninth Plate: Second Side.

424. மெடைக்காய்க்குமாய்ப் பதினெம்பறை நெல்: எண்ணைக்குந் நெய்க்கு-
மாய் நெல்லிருபத்தறு-
425. பறை: மிளகினு பதினாழி: காயத்தினு இருபறை: சிரகத்தினு பதி-
னாழி: கற்பூரம் அஞ்-
426. சு காணத்தினு நெல் நால்பதினாழி: சந்தனத்தினு அஞ்ஞாழி: அகில்-
பத்து காணத்தினு
427. பதினாழி: அகத்தடிக்கு நால்வர்க்கு எண்ணாழியரி: விறகடுமவனு இரு-
பதினா-
428. ழியரி: கலவாணியனு இருபதினாழி: அடையமிர்தினு நானாழி: அன்-
றைச்செல-
429. வு வாயிக்குமவனு அஞ்ஞாழி: திருப்பள்ளித்தாமங் கெட்டுமவரள்
நால்வர்க்கா யரி எ-
430. ண்ணாழி: புறத்தடிக்குமவரள்க்கு எண்ணாழி: மதிற்புற மடிப்பொ-
ற்க்கு நானாழி:
431. உப்பினும் புளிக்குந் தெங்காய்க்குமாய் நெல் எண்பறை: பசற்றினு இ-
ருபறையரை வா-
432. கைப் பொடி இருநாழி: தொம்பூர்க்கரியால் ஆவணி ஒணத்தினுள்ச்
சிறுகாலை திரு-

Thirtieth Plate: First Side.

433. வமிர்து செய்வானிருபத்தைப்பெற்ற வித்திலார்: திவிர்து நெய்யு
நாழி
434. திருவமிர்து செய்விது: நின்றரிபொக கரிமிக்: பட்டி: கொடுப்பி: து:
மதில-
435. கத் தன்று வக்காணிச்சிருக்கும் பட்டகொடுத்தி: க: கொடுத்தி:
செய்தரி கொடுப்பிது: கை-
436. விளக்குந் திருவடைக்காயமிர்தும் கொடுக்குமவனு முந்நாழி: தெவப-
ச்சிகள நாள்வ-
437. ரக்காய்ப் பந்திருநாழி மிக்கு கொட்டுமவான்த்து நாள்ப்பெற்ற கொல்:
கொண்டு அறுநாழி-
438. ச்சை நெல் கொடுப்பிது: ஸ்ஷி: திருவல்லவாழம்பனு திருப்பள்ளி:
குறிப்புணர்ந்-
439. வாறெ திருவமிர்து செய்வானுள்ள அரியாவொ காரைக்காலா விருத்-
ற்று நாழி: ஞெளிந்நாட்-
440. டு வலியவெலியால் தூற்றுநாழி: பள்ளத்து குன்றனிரவி அமைச்ச
வாளகத்தாரொடி-
441. மெ லிருநூற்று நாழி: அஞ்ஞணச்சிறையும் புரையிடத்தாலும் கொ-
ள்ளும் வித்து தூற்றுநா-

Thirtieth Plate: Second Side.

442. ழி: பழவிருக்கை புரையிடத்தெல்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து நாற்பத்தினுழி:
கற்புழைக் கிரி-
443. ட்டன் புரையிடத்தின்மெல் யக்கங்கொதை கடங்கொடுத்மைச்ச வித்து
எண்ணுழிப் பறை-
444. யால்ப் பதின்பறை: கற்புழைப்பறல்க் கொதை கொவிந்நூர் புரையி-
டத்தெல்க் கொள்ளும் வித்-
445. து நாற்பத்தினுழி: தாமரைநல்லூர்க்கரிமெல்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து
ஐம்பதினாழி: கார-
446. ணிகாடர் புரையிடத்தெ லரி தூற்று நாழி: கூபகத்து புரையிடத்தெ-
லரி நாற்பத்தினு-
447. ழி: கைதைப்பறல்க் கொற்றங் கண்ணாரொடிமெல்க் கொள்ளும் வி-
த்து தூற்று நாழி: கைதைப்பற-
448. ல் உள்நாட்டு தூற்றுவிழிமெல்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து அயம்பதினாழி:
புண்ணைக்குன்றத்து
449. மாந்நன்கரிமெல்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து ஐம்பதினாழி: கிறுமண் புரையி-
டத்தின்மெ-
450. ல் அரி ஐம்பதினாழி: மணியிருக்கும் புரையிடத்தெல் அரி நாற்ப-
த்தினு:

Thirty-first Plate: First Side.

451. அமிர்தமங்கலத்தவன் தன்னிடையிட்டின் மெல் ராக்ஷாஹாக்ஷ திருப்-
பள்ளிக்குறி-
452. ப்பினு நூற்று நாழியரி இடங்கழியால் நாழி நெய் யமைச்சான் ஏழுந்-
தூராகின்ற
453. செரிக்கல்மெல்க் கொள்விது: திருப்பள்ளிக்குறிப்பு துடங்குந்நான் மா-
ந்நாமங்க-
454. வத்து மலையில்ப் புரையிடத்தெ லரி இருபத்து நானாழி நெய் இடங்கழி-
யால் நாழி:
455. மூலெப்படுவத்து வாறங்காடர் புரையிடத்தெ லரி ஐம்பதிழை: அவி-
டையெ சா-
456. லப்புழைக் கொவிந்நரை புரையிடத்தெல் நெய் இடங்கழியால் நாழி:
முஞ்சிப்பாறை-
457. க்கு கிழக்கு குன்றக்காட்டு புரையிடத்தெல் நெய் இடங்கழியாழை:
அயகன் தண்டம்
458. பட்டினு தன்னுடை வளால்மெலுந் தரைமெலுமா யரி நூற்று நாழி:
திருப்பள்ளிக்கு-
459. நிப்பினு தானத்தினுள்ள பொன் பள்ளத்து குன்றனிரவி வாளகத்தா-
ரொடி நூற்றுக்கலத்தி-

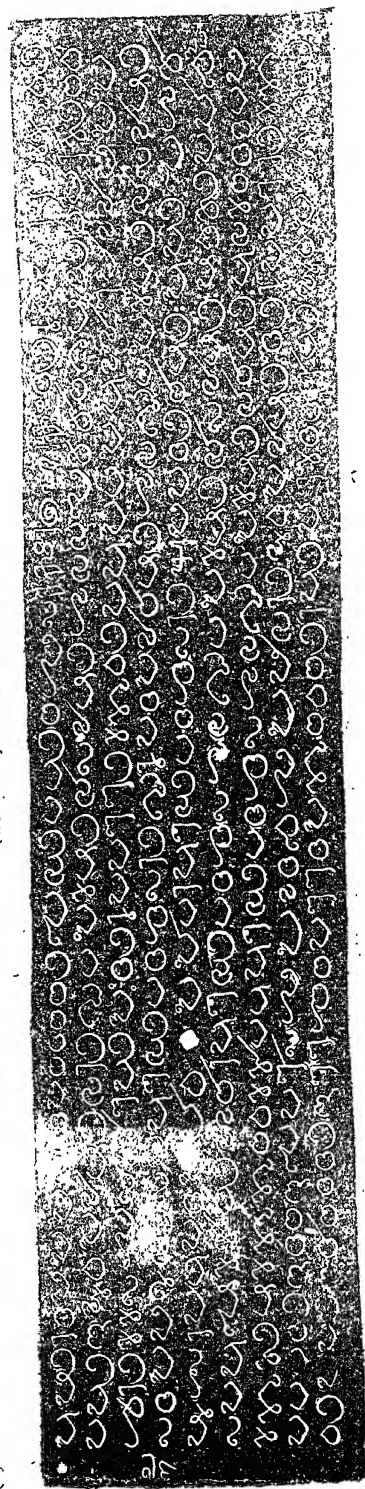
Thirty-first Plate: Second Side.

460. ன் மெல்த்தரும் பொன் பத்து காணம்: அதின் மெலெய் அவன்குடி
யக்கியம்மை தரும் பொ-
461. ன் பத்துகாணம்: பள்ளத்து குன்றங் கொவிந்நன் ஞெலிந்நாட்டு பு-
ரையிடத்தெல் தரும் பொ-
462. ன் பத்து காணம்: தாறன்பறல்மெல் பத்து காணம்: மருதஞ்செரி
நிலகண்டன் தன்னுடைய சிற-
463. றெடிமெல்த் தரும் பொன் இரண்டரைக் காணம்: சென்பகச்செரி பு-
ரையிடத்தெற் றரும் பொன் அ-
464. ஞ்சு காணம்: செந்நன்கரி உழவர் கொடுப்பினு பொன்னிரு கழை-
ஞ்ஞ: சிறுகடைத்து-
465. ருத்திப் படைநாயர்மாடத்தாஞ்ஞினிச் சிறுகடைத்துருத்திக் கூனன்
வாழ்க்கை காராண் பத்து
466. கூற்றின் கடங் கொடுத்தமைச்ச பொன் இருகழைஞ்ஞ: அனுக்கன்
வாழ்க்கைமெல்ப் பொன்
467. காணம்: தட்டம்பாறை வாழ்க்கையும் கூட்டு மெலுமாய்ப் பத்து கா-
ணம்: திருவல்லவாழ-
468. ப்பினு திருப்பள்ளிக்குறிப் புணர்ந்நவாரெ ஏழு நாளைத் திருவிழாவி-
னுள்ள பூமி

HUZUR TREASURY PLATES OF THE THIRUVALLA TEMPLE.

(To Face p. 193).

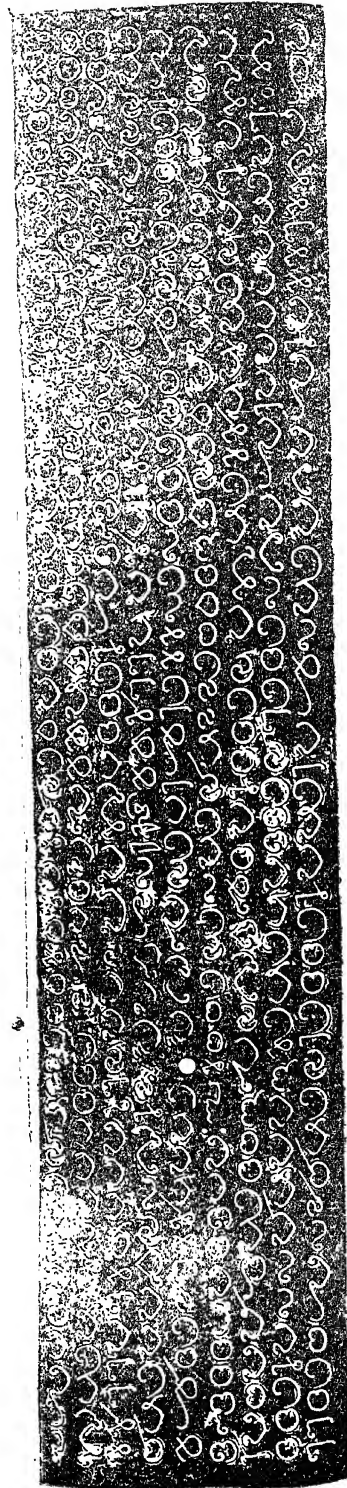
CXXI (a)



452
 454
 456
 458

(To Face p. 202).

CXVII (b)



533
 535
 537
 539

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Scale .5.

Half-size, By the CALCUTTA PHOTODUPE CO.

Thirty-third Plate: First Side.

469. ஹையால் முந்தாற்றறுபது பறை நெல்லாக கொடுக்க கடவிய னிவி
சிரிகண்ட னிதினு-
470. க்கடுத்த வைப்பாவி வியாகந்தொறுங் குடலூர் கருமஞ்செய்யின்றவ
கள் சமஞ்-
471. சிதர்மானிடத்தின் கையில்க் கொடுக்க கடவிய ரிப்பொன்னினால் மெல்
ச்சாந்தி செ-
472. ய்யின்றவர் ளிருவர்க்குமாய்ப் பதினைஞ்சு காணமுங் கிழச்சாந்தி செய்
யின்றவரள்-
473. க்கு பதினைஞ்சு காணமுந் நிக்கி நின்ற பொன் பதினைங் கழைஞ்ஞங்
கொண்டு அஞ்சு
474. ஸ்ரீவநடி செய்யிக்க கடவியர்[*] தங்ஙள் குறவினால்ச் சென்றமைஞ்ஞ
காலத்து கொள்ளா-
475. தொழுகில் முட்டிரட்டி கொடுக்க கடவனல்லன் என்று கிற்கிலும் முத-
ற்பொன்-
476. னெ கொடுக்க கட வியர்[*] இரவி சிரிகண்டன் அரைசு கொபமுஞ் சா-
ரந்தொபமுந் நிக்கி ரகதி-
477. ச்சு ரகதாஹாமடி கொள்ளக்கடவியர்[*] ஊராளர் புக்கு விவத்திவு
பெருளுகவரவும் பெ-

Thirty-third Plate: Second Side.

478. குநிச்சித்திது இருகறு பறையும் ஊராளர் ஊரணமையுந் தான முட்
புரட்டையும் பெரு-
479. ர[*] குடலூர் கிழிடு சங்கரமங்ஙலத்து கச்சமெ யிதினுங் கச்சம்
விலி திரு-
480. வக்கிரத்தினு மக்குதிட்டையு மயிலொடியும் ஆதன் றுத்தியிலெ-
இ-
481. வ்விரண்டும் தெக்கிறைறுவழிக் கொவ்நனாகரி எழுபத்தைம்பறை
க்கு பாட்ட-
482. ம் வரழைப்பள்ளி இராயிங்ஙத்தான் வெவி: பருடைத்திட்டையாற்ற
வழி-
483. ப்புதுக்கரியாலக் கொள்ளுந் நெல்லெ(ர)ழுபத்தைம்பறை ஒன்பதினா
ப்பறையால்: கு-
484. ருக்குலையூர் மாங்நொடு: நெடுங்நாலிராட்டு: காஞ்ஞரக்காடு: தாமற்ற
நாட்டு குறுவெ-
485. வியும் பாழையுந் தொடும்: இசானமங்ஙலத்து சிர்விடு: தெக்கானத்து
முடாலம்: ஆட்-
486. டட்டிப்பறம்பிலவாளுழிந்ந குமான்கரியும்: கண்ப்புரையிட்டமும்: ஆ-
னையடி

Thirty-fifth Plate: First Side.

487. த்தின் கிழொருதுடவையா விருபறை: பூந்தொட்டவாளுமும் காட்டு-
மண்ணில் மெ-
488. லொடியும்: இருபள்ளிப்புறை நாகமங்ஙலமாகின்ற புரையிடமும் இரு-
பள்ளிப்பு-
489. ரையிடம் ஒன்றில்ப் பாதியும்: குற்றாரார் கரும்பின்மெல்க் கொள்ளும்
நெல் நால்-
490. ப்பறை: சாலையர்குழி: சம்பக கொட்டத்தில் மெலொடியும்: புன்னை-
க்குளம்: புறங்-
491. கொலிநாட்டு சுடுகண்டல்க்கரி: மாவலியார் தொட்டம்: பூந்தொட்ட-
மாகின்ற புரை-
492. யிடம்: கொயிற்புறத்து பொரலாகின்ற புரையிடம்: பாலைப்பழஞ்சி-
யாரொடி எழுபத்-
493. தையம்பறையும்: கள்ளக்கரியில் அறுபது பறை பதினாழியா விருநூ-
ற்றுக்கலத்தி-
494. ன்மெல்க் கொள்விது: மண்ணின்ருட்டுவழிப் பொன்கொடுத்தான்
சாலக்கு பாட்டம் ப-
495. திழையால் முப்பது பறை: நிறணத்து கடம்மன்கரி ஐம்பது பறைக்கு
பாட்டம்: செ-

Thirty-fifth Plate: Second Side.

496. றி உடையார்காடு இருபத்தைஞ்சினு பாட்டம்: குன்றத்தூர் வளால்க்கு
பாட்டம் எழுப-
497. த்தையம்பறையும்: துருத்தியில் நெட்டாழி பதினம்பறைக்கு பா-
ட்டம்: புனிவெலி-
498. ப்புனம்: நாவாவழி பனைமண்: குளப்பள்ளிவளால்: காஞ்சிரப்படு-
வத்தின்மெல்-
499. க் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நால்ப்பறை: கடைப்பனைங்ஙாடு மவிடை
யொள்ள ஆளும்: துருத்-
500. திக் கரைப்புரையிடத்தினி விடங்கழியால் நூற்றுநாழி: துழத்துறை
ஏரிமண்:
501. புன்னைவெலி யிருபத்தையம்பறை: பாச்சினப்பாய்: கொதைகரி நூ-
ற்றுக்கலத்தில் நாலொ-
502. ன்று: மெனிலம்: மண்டபமாகின்ற புரையிடத்தில்ப் பதினம்பறை:
புன்னைக்குன்-
503. றத்து கல்வெலி பதினம்பறை: பெருங்ஙல்வெலி நூறுபறை: சிறு-
கல்வெலி
504. முப்பது பறை: கைதைக்காடு ஐம்பது பறை: பூப்படுவத்தொடி ஐம்ப-
து பறை: பள்ளொ-

Thirty-sixth Plate: First Side.

505. வெலி இருபதுபறை: ஆலைக்கால்ப் பாலத்தினருகே வெத்க்காடு: அ-
த்திரையர்காடு நா-
506. ல்ப்பது அதிகார ரமைச்சிது: சிறுமுதைமற்ற முண்டகம் அதுன் அருத்தி
வளாலி-
507. ல் எழுபறை யரை: புதுவாய்வளால்: புலையன் முதை: சிறுசொல்ப-
ற்றம்: கண்ணாடு: கமுகின்-
508. புறையாற்று வாழ்க்கையால் முப்பது பறை தெங்காய்க்கும் புளிக்ஞம்:
செலை: மாஞ்ஞன-
509. வடுவ முப்பது பறை: நென்மலி ஐம்பது பறை: நென்மலி இறை இட-
ங்கழி-
510. யால் அறுபதினாழி: திருச்செர்ப்பத்தொடிமெல் நால்ப்பதினாழி:
துழத்-
511. துறைத்தெவரொடிமெல் நால்ப்பதினாழி: மாணிக்கமங்கலத்தவனுடை
நென்ம-
512. விமெல் அறுபதினாழி: இவ்விறை கண்ணாட்டி னுபாயத்துக்கு:
கொதைகண்ணார்-
513. காடு எழுபத்தைஞ்சினு பாட்டம்: மாடமண் தெவஞ் செந்ந னமைச்ச
பூமி நாயித்தி-

Thirty-sixth Plate: Second Side.

514. கரி ஐம்பதின்கலம்: குமான்படுவத்தில் ஒன்றரையொடி: கொரகை-
பாலும்படும்:
515. புலிகை நம்புநாரண னமைச்ச பூமி கடித்தானத்து கொணத்து கொள-
கம் எழுபத்தைம்ப-
516. றைக்கு பாட்டம்: ஒருப்புறக்காட்டவரளுமுகின்ற ஒருரடியில் மு-
ன்னொன்று கட்டைக்-
517. கால்வெலி இரண்டு[மா]ய்ப் பதினம்பறைக்கு பாட்டம்[II*] சாத்திர-
ர்க் கட்டியூணினு மு-
518. லையில் நாயித்தியா ரமைச்சிது: சென்னித்தலை நெட்டொடியுந் தெவர்-
வெலி-
519. யுமாய் அறுபதினு பாட்டம்: இதினுபாயத்துக்கு[II*] முத்தூற்று
தூப்படுவத்தில் வ-
520. ளசராவெலி: கண்டன்கரி தூற்றிருபது பறை: வடைசெரி நிலகண்டன்
யக்கராவன் அதர்-
521. ச்சயிள்த் திருவமிர்தினுக் கமைச்ச பூமி இழிஞ்ஞினத்து கடாவெலி
நால்ப-
522. பது பறைக்கு பாட்டம்: வெண்பாலைய விளவாடுணுக்கம் இடங்க-
ழியால் தூற்று நா-

Thirty-seventh Plate: First Side.

523. ழிக்கு பாட்டம்: இடையாடி எழுபத்தைங்கலமும் மூன்றென்று மெ-
லொடி கொள்விது [11*]
524. வெண்பாலையலின் வடைச்செரிப்புறும் இடங்கழியால் தூற்றுநாழி-
க்கு பாட்டம்: ப-
525. நப்பின்மெல் பந்திருகலம்: கிளிமானூர் நால்க்கலம்: கொட்டுதலை நா-
ல்க்கலம்: பள்ளிப்பு-
526. நத்து தெவர்துடவையா விரட்டைத் தூணியால் இருதூணி: அவரா-
ணிமங்கலத்தால் நால்க்கலம்
527. கரைப்புரைபிடமும் பள்ளொப்பள்ளி கொட்டறை கூட: அயொக-
மன்னூர் பாட்டப் பொன்னினால் செ-
528. லுத்தும் வித்து அறுதூற்றென்பறை யரை[1*] அசொகமன்னூரால்
வைக்கும்பொன் முப்பத்து மு-
529. க்கழைஞ்ஞ பண்டாரத்தில் வைப்பிது: விலக்கிலிமங்கலத்து கிருட்டர்
தெவன்
530. நன்னுடைய காட்டூர்ப் புரையிடத்தின்மெல்த் திருமடைப்பள்ளி நாழி-
யால் ஐம்பதி-
531. னாழிச் செய்தரி ஆவணியொணத்தினால் கொண்டுவந்து கொடுக்ககட-
வன் திருவல்லவாழப்பனு:

Thirty-seventh Plate: Second Side.

532. ல்ல மெடத்துள் வியாழந் நின்ற கற்கடகஞாயிற்று திருத்துவா தயிக்க-
ணத்தா ரவிரொத்ததால்க்
533. கூடி முக்காலவட்டத் திருந்நெடத்து வைச்ச முஞ்ஞிநாடுடைய இரா-
மங் கொதவர்ம்மன் தன-
534. க்கொள்ள வாளகமுட்டம் கரையும் வயலுங் கூடத் திருவெண்ணைச்
செல்வாக ரகூறொழி பதி-
535. னாழிப் பறையால் இருதூறுபறை நெல் ரகூச்சு கொள்ளவங் கொடு-
க்கவுங் கடவியர் வைய்யாவி-
536. ச்சொதிநாள்க் கொடுப்பிது[11*] இடையிடர் செரிக்கலித் தியன செ-
ய்கில்த் திருவெ-
537. ண்ணைத் தடம் தண்டம்: ல்ல கன்னியில் வியாழந் நின்ற தனுஞாயிற்று
முஞ்ஞிநாடுடைய இ-
538. ராமன்ம் மாதெவி தன்னுடைய இஞ்சைத்துருத்தியுங் குழிக்காடு பூமி-
யு மாளுங் கூட-
539. த்திருவல்லவாழப்பனு கிழிடு பண்ணியா ளிதில் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டது மி-
வளக்கு-
540. ளள்தின்மெல் நானாழியரித் திருவமிந்து செல்விது[1*] எம்பெரும-
க்கள்க்கும் பொது-

Thirty-eighth Plate: First Side.

541. வாண்மமார்க்குமா யிடங்கழியால் தூற்றுநாழி நெல்க் கொடுப்பிது [*]
காக்கை இரவமு-
542. ள்ப்படப் பண்ணிது: ஸ் முஞ்சிமாராயர் பெருகூர்த் துச்சிலம் பண்ணி-
யதினு திருவ-
543. ல்லவாழப்பனு தண்டம் பட்ட வடதலை வாழ்க்கையாகின்ற பூமி திரு-
வமிர்தினுள்ளிது[**]
544. ஸ் கொயிற்புறத்து செந்நங் குமரனும் மருமக்களுங் கூடித் தெங்க-
வெலிக்கொணத்-
545. து தங்ஙள் பூமிமெல் இருபத்து நானாழி அக்காரடலை அமைச்சான்: ப-
கைவிருத்திக் கும-
546. ரனியக்க னமைச்ச பூமி உள்நாடரிடைக்காடு கூட வரளகத்தி னடுத்த
வெழநிலையால்க் கொள்-
547. ளும் வித்து அறுபத்திரு பறை: போளிக்கரை ஐயன் கொதவர்ம்மன்
சிறுகடுப்பாகின்ற பூ-
548. மி இரு தூற்றுக்கலத்தின் மெல்ப் பதினாழிப் பறையால்த் தொண்ணு
று பறை வித்து திரு-
549. வளசையி லளவு கொடுக்க கடவியன்: புஞ்சைப்படகாரத்து நாராயண
னிருடிகெசவன் ஒரு கலந்

Thirty-eighth Plate: Second Side.

550. திருவாக்கிரமமைச்சா னிதினனு பூமி விளாமுடக்கினுள் மணலூரொடி-
யிள் தூற்றுக்கலத்-
551. தில் ஐஞ்சிரண்டும் அமைச்சான்: பணிச்சவிருத்தி நாலாயிரக்கலத்தில்
நாலொன்று கொவி-
552. ந்ந னச்சுதனும் மருமக்களுங் கூடி அட்டிக் கொடுத்தார் திருவல்லவாழ-
ப்பனுக்கு: ப-
553. ணிச்சவிருத்தியிலெ கண்ணையாழியமாகின்ற புரையிடம் அட்டித் த-
ன்னான் பள்ளிவி-
554. ருத்தித் தாமொதிரங் கொதை: வாய்ப்பாட்டு காட்டு நிலத்து புரையி-
டத்தெல் விலக்கிலிம-
555. ங்ஙலத்தடிக்க ளமைச்ச தெங்காய் அறுபது செய்து ஆட்டும்: வன்றலை-
செரிக் கொதை இரவி
556. அமைச்ச திருவிளக்குந் திருவமிர்தினும் முஞ்ஞினுட் டிளங்கு-றுடைய
குன்றன்
557. னிராமன்றான் கொடுத்த பூமி காக்கையூராகின்ற செரிக்கல் நானூற்று-
க்கல நிலமும் காராண்மைச் செ-
558. ய்தும் பொதுவாண்மைச் செய்துந் நின்று ஞாழற்ப்பள்ளி நாராயணன்
திரிசம்பகன் செலுத்-

Thirty-ninth Plate: First Side.

559. திச்சுகொள்ளக் கடவியன்: கொதைமங்ஙலத்து கரையாலும் வயலா-
லுந் திருப்புகி முப்பலம்
560. தெங்நாய் மூன்றுந் திருப்பள்ளிக்குறிப்பினு இரண்டரைக்காணம் பொ-
ன்: சிறையகத்து
561. வளாலுந் தறையுஞ் சிரிபவிக்கு கைவிளக்கினுந் திருவடைக்காயமிர்-
தினு மொள்ளிது:
562. ஷ மற்றத்தில்ப் பரமேச்சுவரஞ் சொமன் தன்னுடைய சிறைக்கரைப்-
புரையிடந் திருவல்ல-
563. வாழப்பனு அட்டிக் கொடுத்தான் திருப்பள்ளித் தாமத்தினுப் இம்மு-
க்கால்வட்டத் தெழுந்-
564. நருளியிருக்கும் பழாரதிருவடிமார் அருளிச்செய் தொருத்தர் செலு-
த்துவிது: இதின்-
565. மெல் ரகூலாஹாமழி மெல்ச்சாந்தி ¹ எம்மெருமக்க ளிருவார்க்கும் ஒரொ
தெங்நு கொள்விது [11*] வெ-
566. ண்பலநாட்டு பண்டாரியார்க்கு காவல்விருத்தி எண்ணுழியால் ஐம்பறை
நெல் கூட மற்றந்தரு-
567. க என்று சொல்லிய பொன்னினு[ல்*] இது கொடுத்திது[11*] இதின்.
மெல் மும்மூன்று மாலை நியதி[11*]

Thirty-ninth Plate: Second Side.

568. ஷ திருவல்லவாழப்பனை ஆராதிக்கும் ¹ எம்மெருமக்களுக்கு இளந்துரு-
த்திக்கரியி லிரு-
569. பத்தையம்பறை: இழிஞ்ஞினத்து பதினாழியால் நூறுபறை: இழிஞ்ஞி-
னத்து செற்றி-
570. ண்மெல்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல் பதினாழியால் ஐம்பது பறை: கொயில்க்க-
ரிக் கொள்ளுந் நெல் பதினாழி-
571. யா லிருநூறு பறை: பணிச்சவிருத்திக் கொள்ளுந் நெல் ஒன்பதினா-
ழித்தூணியால்க் கணத்தாரொடு
572. ஒக்க இரண்டு படகாரங் கொள்விது: தெங்நாய் நூறு: கவழ்ச்சை-
யில்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல் பதினாழி-
573. யா லிருநூறு பறை: பூரக்கணத்தாரொடியும் பொத்தங்ஙனார்கரியும்
மூன்றென்றுகரியும் பாதிக்கிற-
574. நுமாய்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல் எண்ணுழியால் நூறுபறை: ஆனைமற்றத்தி-
ல்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல் எழுபத்தைம்ப-
575. றை: சூரல்முதைக் கொள்ளுந் நெல் ஐம்பது பறை: பொத்தனெங்ங-
ல்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல் இருபத்தைம்பறை: கு-
576. ளக்காட்டு கொள்ளுந் நெல் நூறு பறை: பருத்திக்காட்டு கொள்ளுந்
நெல் பந்திருபறையரை: கிழச்செரி-

Fortieth Plate: First Side.

577. த் தாயம் விக்கிரமணிடைக் கண்ணனாடாகின்ற பூமிமெல் இருபது படை: பூதிகொட்டவனி-
578. டை காட்டுரோடிமெல்ப் பதினெம்பறை அப்பனாடாகின்ற பூமிமெல் பொன்வெலி
579. தருந் நெல் இருபத்தைம்பறை: மண்டிலக்களமாகின்ற பூமிமெல் நடைபத்தைம்பறை: வைகு-
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1 Figures refer to pages; and 'n' after a figure to foot-notes. The following other abbreviations are used:—

ch. = chief; co. = country; di. = district or division; do. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern;
 f. = female; k. = king; m. = male; mo. = mountains; myth. = mythical; vi. = river;
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BY

**The Late Mr. T. A. GOPINATHA RAO M. A.
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with

**Table of contents, List of Plates, Addenda and Corrigenda
and Index.**

BY

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Addenda and Corrigenda.

- Page—1, paragraph 2, line 3,—For “Purvabhādra” read “Pūrvabhādra.”
- „ 2, „ 2, 7.—In “maṇakkolaṇḍhu”, alter the final *u* into *m*.
- „ 3, „ 1, 10,—For “kalātil” read *kalatril*.
- „ 6, foot-note 1, line 1.—For “Śuvaṇṇ” read “Śuvaran”.
- „ 8, paragraph 1, line 9, — For “Pūrvāśāḍha” read “Pūrvabhādra-pada.”
- „ 9, „ 2, line-last but 1,—For “Śaṅkarī (the daughter) of the Kāvadi Kannaṇ” read “the accountant (*kāvadi*) Kannaṇ Śaṅkaraṇ.”
- „ 10, First Sanskrit quotation,—For “शेखरान्वम्” read “शेखरान्वयम्”.
- „ „ Second Sanskrit quotation,—For “विरचनेन” read “विरचने”; and for “सहिताखिनाद्य” read *सहितस्य त्रिनाद्य*”.
- „ „ item 2,—Rājasekhara is said to have been of the Chōhan family (Chāhamāna-kula). This is against the statement of the poet Rājasekhara according to which it was his wife that belonged to that family.
- „ 12, Sanskrit quotation,—For “मुदन्वन्ववृषाकिष्मान्यदस्य” read “मदन्वदन्ववृषा किष्मान्यदस्य”.
- „ 13, Text-line 2,—For “[சு] தகி” read “சு.தகி” and alter the note (2) thus:—“Read சாடிக்கு. The first letter of this word is entered below the line; the *i* sign which is engraved almost on the top of சு properly belongs to ட”.
- „ „ Text-line 4,—For “முட்டிப்பா” read “பணிமுட்டிப் பா”.
- The phrase “உரிபக்கொளி ஆனாழி நெல்” has been taken to mean “paddy as measured by and made up to four *nāḷis*” correcting “ஆனாழி” into “நானாழி” (see foot-note 3). The proper way of separating the phrase is “உரிபக்கொளி ஆல and நானாழிநெல்” which means “(one) *nāḷi* of paddy (as measured) by (the measure) holding *uri*”.
- The meaning of “மெய்வெற்றுவகையால்” is omitted in the translation supply “by each person”.
- „ „ „ 6,—In “கஇலாதமுடையானற்கு குடுக்க” delete the first கு as it is not in the plate facing page 12.
- [Kayiladamudaiyāṇ is the name of the donor and not that of a shrine as rendered in the translation and *āl* is the instrumental termination which by the rules of *sandhi* is altered into *ār*.]

- Page 14. Translation of lines 5—6, subline 4 f,—*Instead of* “to (the god in the shrine named?) Kailāsa” *substitute* “by (the person named) Kayilāsamudaiyāṇ”; and *for* “Kāñjik-ka” *read* “Kāñjikkāvu.”
- .. 16, line 16,—After the word “end” insert the closing bracket).
- .. 18, text-line 3,—*For* “தெவாசுர[மது]கை தரித்தி” *read* “தெவாசுரப்பகை தீர்த்தி” and add the note “*For* தீர்த்தி *read* தீர்த்து.”
- .. 19, .. 5,—*For* “தனி” *read* தருனி; and *for* “கைத்தமாதுரிமைச்” *read* கைத்தனதுரிமைச்.”
- .. 20, .. 23 end,—*For* “நாயகம்” *read* “நாயக[ம்*] மி.”
- .. 24 beginning,—*For* “மலை” *read* “ழலை”.
- .. 25,—*For* “(கி)முகவெட்டி” *read* “கி[ழ*]முகவெட்டி”.
- .. 27,—*Insert* “ன்” of “ருளாளன்” in straight brackets with star; *for* “வழுக்கக்கோன் டெ ... டெட்டின்” *read* “வழுக்கக்கோனூரேட்டின்”.
- Translation, line 1,—*Add* “Hail! Prosperity!” at the commencement.
- .. 2,—*For* “[fought in the battle] between the *dēvas* and *asuras*” *read* “removed the enimity of the *dēvas* and *asuras*”.
- .. 21, line 12,—*For* “in the Malai-nāḍu” *read* Milalai-kūṟṟam”.
- .. 13,—*Add* “Kīl-” *before* “mugavēṭṭi” at the commencement of this line.
- .. 24, line 3, Translation of lines 9-13, sub-line 3,—*For* “Gōvinnan” *read* “to the king”.
- .. 26, Title Heading.—*For* “No.” *read* Ko.”
- .. 34, text-line 2,—Delete the “ை” in “தபையும்”.
- .. 35, line 4,—*Insert* a bracket before “parishad”.
- .. 14,—*Insert* a bracket before “pūjāris”.
- .. 36, text-line 2,—*Remove* the punctuation make placed before “ஊராளரும்” and *insert* it after the word “பரடையாரும்”.
- .. 3,—*For* “நந்தா” *read* “நந்(த)தா”; and *for* “பாதிமப்பியை” *read* “பாதிமயப்பியை”.
- .. 4,—*For* “இத்திலு முள்ளது” *read* “இத்தனைக்கு முள்ளது”.
- .. 5,—*For* “அகிலை” *read* “அதனில்”; and *for* “கொடுக்கப் பெருவராக” *read* “கொடுக்கப்பட்டோரவராக”.
- .. 6,—*Alter* the “சே” in “பந்நிரு கழஞ்சே” *into* “சே”.
- .. 37, line 1,—*For* “பாடுதாங்கிமவரையு மவருமி” *read* “பாடுதாங்கிப் பறையு மவரு மித்”.
- text-line 7,—*For* “முட்டிமவர்” *read* “முட்டிக்குமவர்” and *add* the following note:—“The letters “க்கு” are engraved

below the line and in the place where they ought to be inserted there is a + mark (See plate facing p. 36). The translation has also to be altered suitably.

Page 39, text-line 1,—For “திரவன்மம்” read “திரவன்மம்”.

.. 2,—Fill up the gap occurring before “கலயன்” by the syllables “அஞ்ஞாழ் அப்” and for “[ஞ்ஞாழ்]” read “ஞ்ஞாழ்”.

.. 3,—For “மே” at the commencement of this line read “பையர்”; and for “[க]யம்” read “[*]யம்”.

.. 4,—For “பல[முக்க]யம்” read “ப்பொழுக்கயம்” and for “மக்கள் [பல]ருளு” read “மக்களாவருளு”.

.. 6,—For “பாதி கிருவமி” read “பாதி கிருவமி”.

.. For “சிரிவயின்ன[வ]ரக்கு[ம்] கு[தி*],” read “சிரிவயின்னவர் கொண்டு பகுத்து”.

.. 7,—For “அமைச்சேன்” read “அமைச்சேன்” and fill up the gap after “பள்ள” by the syllables “பழத்து இரவி”.

.. 41, .. 3,—For “ஆபட்ட” read “ஆட்ட”.

5,—For “ஞ்செய்[வ?]து [u*]” read “ஞ்செய்து” and for “முட்டிய read ஆட்டிய”.

.. 42, item 7(d),—For “of the Nāgava(?)rēri (illam)” read “of Nāgapalli and Iravi Kōdai of Kulikkātay”.

.. 7(e),—For “Iravi Rāman” read “Iravi Kumaran”; delete “Iravi Kōdai of Kulikkāl”; remove the words “of Serumarrappulai” after “Ayyan” and insert them after “Kōdai Kēraḷaṇ”; and omit the sentence “The epigraph gives the names of four persons as having ordered the writer to prepare the document but says ‘being ordered by these three’”.

.. 43, text-line 3, subline 2,—For “இந்நெல்” read “இந்நெய்”.

.. 5,—For “ஏற.....வக்குமி[ல] [u*]” read “ஏத்துவிக்கும்”.

.. 4, sub-line 1,—For “வாணநாரே” read “வாணநான்”; for “உ[டு]ரபாடனம்” read “உன்பாடனம்”; for “பெருமுத்தவனங்” read “பெருமுதியனங்”; and for “யிருந்து” read “யிருந்து”;

.. 4, subline 2,—For “இப்பரியறியுஞ்” read “இப்பரி அறியுஞ்”;

.. 4, subline 4,—For “[நகவ]ரேரி” read “நாகப்பள்ளி”.

.. 4, .. 7,—For “முன்னிருந்து” read “முன்னிருந்து” and remove the punctuation marks from sub-lines 3, 4 and 5 and insert only one after “குழிக்காலா யிரவி கோதையும்”.

[With these corrections, it will be seen (vide also amended translation against p. 45) that only *three* persons ordered the execution of the deed as expressly stated in the inscription and not *four* as has been taken (See p. 42, 7 (e) last line-now deleted and foot-note (1) on p. 44) also now deleted.]

Page 44, line 1,—In place of this line, read “Thus known to Śuvarāṇ Tuppāṇ of Maṇṇam”.

.. .. 3,—For “Nagavarēri” read “Nagappalli” and after “Knows” add “Iravi Kōdai of Kuḷikkālāy knows”.

.. .. 4,—Delete “Iravi Kōdai of Kuḷikkālāy”.

.. .. Introduction to I,—For “thirty-sixth year opposite the second” read “thirty-first year opposite the second” as in the text and plate; Delete the words “at the end of the solar month Rishabha”, for the reading “இடபங்கழிவில்” is a clear mistake for “இடங்கழியால்”; and for “Śōravellūr” read “Vellūr” as the syllables “மேல்காட்டிச் சோரவெள்ளூரணி” have to be separated into “மேல்காட்டிச்சோர் + வெள்ளூர் + இரணி” (see corrections to text given below.)

.. .. text-line 2,—For “இடபங்கழிவில்” read “இடங்கழியால்”.

.. 5,—For “மேல்காட்டிச் சோரவெள்ளூ” read “மேல் காட்டிச்சோர் வெள்ளூ”.

.. .. Translation of I,—For “thirty-two” read “thirty-one”.

.. .. foot-note (1),—Delete this note.

.. 45, line 6,—For “Śōravellūr” read “Vellūr”.

.. 7,—After “Nārāyaṇa” add “of Kuḷamaṅgalam”.

.. 46, text-line 1, sub-line 3,—For “இருந்து” read “இருந்து”.

.. 47, .. 1,—For “நாற்பத்” read “நாற்பத்தைஞ்ஞா மா”.

.. 2,—For “ம[லையு]ங்” read “வயலுங்”.

.. 3,—For “இடங்க.நி நால் நாழி வுரி” read “இடங்கழியால் நாழியுரி:” and fill up the first set of dots by the word “பூத” and the second set of dots by “நா”.

.. 4,—For “[ம்] த[யி நி] ன் னாரா இரண்டு[வுரி]” read “சதயத்தின்னார் இரண்டு அ”.

.. 48, line 3 end,—Between “from” and “Kunra” add “Gōvindaṇ”.

.. 4,—For “hills” read “fields”.

.. 11,—For “tiruvilagiḍudal” read “tiruvalagiḍudal”.

.. 11 f,—Delete “one iḍaṅgaḷi”;

.. 12,—After the word “salt” add “as measured by the iḍaṅgaḷi”.

.. 12 & 13,—For “leaves, fuel and words are also to be supplied for the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas” substitute

“; for *bhūta-bali*, one *nāli*, together with leaves and firewood required for it, (shall be supplied) on the day of Śadaiyam; two”.

Page 49, Text-line 1,—Sub-line 3,—For “[க]ந்த[ன]த்த(?)... ..ப[ர]னும் பூமிங்ஙம்(?)” read “ஆனும் ஆம் பூமிங் கந்தருத்தி”.

“ ” ” Sub-line 5:—For “தெய[ன]ன் பாடன்” read “தெயநன் பாடனு[ம்*]”.

“ ” ” 6,—For “பெருகுதியன்” read “பெருகுதியனு[ம்*]”.

“ ” ” 7,—For “பதவாரம்மாக்க[ன]” read “பதவாரம்மாக்கி”.

[Leaving off the author's conception of the events of the period discussed in pages 55 to 57, the following few corrections are made].

“ 55, Line 33,—Pratāparudra is not “the Kākatīya Rudrāmbā” but is her grandson *i.e.* the son of Mummadāmbā, the daughter of Rudrāmbā.

“ Foot-note (1).—The alternative king suggested in this note flourished a century earlier.

“ 56, Paragraph 3.—line 6 beginning,—For “Kākatīya Pratāparudra Gaṇapati” read “Kākatīya king Gaṇapati”. Pratāparudra was the great grandson of Gaṇapati.

“ 57, Paragraph 1.—line last but 2.—For Rudrāmbā (queen of Gaṇapati who had then evidently taken up the regency after her husband's death)” read “Rudrāmbā (the daughter of Gaṇapati who had become the ruler of the Kākatīya dominion after her father's death)”

“ 59, Text-line 22,—For “श्री[मद्र]” read “श्रीमद्रविव”—

“ 62, Line 7,—Delete “śrī” in “svasti śrī”.

“ 65, f,—[Much of what is written under the word “madipāyan” becomes unnecessary for the plate clearly reads “மதிகாபகன்”—not மதினாயன்—(see plate II a facing p. 66, line marked 17).]

“ 67, Text-line 4,—For [ப]ணி. [க.....யம்]” read [மணிக்கிராமமுன்ன]” and note “The syllables are written over an erasure”.

“ ” 8,—For “குமொரு” read “[ரு]ம்மொரு”

“ ” 11,—For “பெற்றுடையன்” read “பெற்றுடையன்”.

68, “ 17,—For “பெருந்” read “பெரு[வ*]ந்”; and for “மதினாயனம்” read “மதினாயகனம்”.

“ ” 18,—For “தரிஸா” read “தரிஸா”.

“ ” Translation line 1,—At the beginning of this line add “Hail !”.

Page 72. [வார்த்தைத் தொழிலோர் has been rendered into “those engaged in words, “poets(?)”. As *vārttā* means “cultivation, tending cattle or trade”, it would be more appropriate to take “*vārttai-ttōlilōr*” to mean “those who are engaged in the work of cultivation, tending cattle or trade” and such a translation, it may be noted, would suit well for a synonym of a “*Vellāla*” (cultivator)].

.. 74, For “*Nāchchan*” read “*Āchchan*”.

.. 76, Paragraph 3,—“*Pūṅgāviṇḷ*” is a misreading for “*Paṇaiṅgāviṇḷ*” (See plate facing page 235 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. line 3).

.. .. Text-line 1,—For “*பாவின*” read “*பாவின*” (See plate facing p. 225 of *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III).

.. 77, [Translation given on this page is not quite accurate. For a correct translation see p. 221 f of *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. It may, however, be noted that in the passage “தொண்டைநாடு பாவின சோழன் பல்யானைக் கோக்கண்டனன இன ராஜகேஸரிவரமான் கோத்தானு இரவியாலும்”, though at first sight it looks as if the two epithets preceding ஆயின viz. தொண்டைநாடு பாவின சோழன் and பல்யானைக் கோக்கண்டன் seem to refer both to *Rājakesari Varman* which follows them immediately after, it will be more correct to view that ஆயின is used in the distributive sense and that the two epithets qualify respectively “*Rājakesarivarman*” and “*Śeraman Sthānu Ravi*”. When expanded, the passage would stand thus :—

தொண்டைநாடு பாவின சோழனாயின ராஜகேஸரிவரமான்
ஆயின பல்யானைக் கோக்கண்டனன இரவியாலும்,
சோழன் கோத்தானு இரவியாலும்.

In this connection, it is worth remembering that *Kōkkaṇḍan* or *Kaṇḍan* occurs as the name or title of some early Chēra kings *e. g.* *Kōkkaṇḍan Vīra-Nārāyaṇa* and *Kōkkaṇḍan Ravi* (Nos. 147 and 148 of Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910), that the Sanskrit equivalent of *Kōkkaṇḍan* *i. e.* king *Kaṇṭha* actually figures in the *Nāmakkal* plates as the name of two Chēra kings (Madras Epigraphical Report for 1905-6, p. 74), and that *Kōkkaṇḍan*, *Kaṇḍan* or *Kaṇṭha* has never been found in inscriptions applied to any Chōla king. The adjunct “*Palyāṇai*” is used with another early sovereign of the Saṅgam period “*Palyāṇai-Śelkelu-Kuṭṭuvāṇ*”. The above facts lead to the inevitable conclusion that (i) தொண்டைநாடு பாவின is an epithet of the Chōla king *Rājakesari-varman Āditya I* a fact which is consistent with what

is recorded of him in the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates. that (ii) Palyāṇai Kōkkandam is an epithet of the Chera king Sthāṇu Ravi and that (iii) அரின் has to be taken to mean "respectively called".]

- Page 80, Text-line 6,—After “*வி*” at the end of this line *add* “*பராகண*”.
- “ “ “ 7,—Delete the syllables “*பரசண(த்)*” occurring at the beginning of this line.
- “ “ “ 9,—For “*காரனும்*” read “*காரநும்*” and for “*தலை*” read “*தலைம்*”.
- “ 81, “ 16,—Note “above the letter “*த*” of “*தன்ன*”, there is entered by way of interlineation, a symbol which may be taken for 2”.
- “ “ “ 16 and 23,—For “*செலவு பத்திரம்*” read “*செப்பு பத்திரம்*”.
- “ “ “ 25,—For “*இவன்கு*” read “*இவகன்கு*” and for “*முள் பட*” read “*ருள்ப்பட*”.
- “ 82, “ 32,—For “*உலகு(கூட்டு)*” read “*உலகுபடு*” and for “*இவைகளைகூட*” read “*இவைகளைக்கூட*”.
- “ “ “ 33,—Insert “*இ*” at the end of this line.
- “ “ “ 34,—Delete “*இ*” at the beginning of this line.
- “ “ “ 46,—For “*அன்னியாம்*” read “*அன்னியா*” and for “*அன்னூயாயந்*” read “*அன்னூயந்*”.
- “ “ “ 49,—For “*செய்வதே*” read “*செய்வதே*”.
- “ “ “ 50,—For “*முன்னம்*” read “*முன்னம்*”.
- “ “ “ 53,—For “*உலகுஞ்சுந்திரா*” read “*உலகுஞ்(ஞ)சுந்திரா*”.
- “ “ “ 1,—For “*இவ்வாண்டு*” read “*அவ்வாண்டு*”.
- “ 85, “ 1,—For “*இவ்வாண்டு*” read “*அவ்வாண்டு*”.
- “ 86, Translation line 1 end,—Correct “this” into “that”.
- “ 111, Line-last but 5, commencement:—Alter ‘for’ into “from”.
- “ 116, Sanskrit text line 3,—For “*तुल्य*” read “*तुल्य*”.
- “ 126, II line 2,—For “*நெடும்பறை*” read “*நெடும்புறை*”.
- “ “ III line 2,—For “*சட்டன்*” read “*சடன்*”.
- “ 128, Line-last but 6,—Delete “alias”.
- “ “ “ 5,— Do.
- “ “ “ “
- “ 138, Line 10,—For “Karanāgama” read “Karanāgama”.

